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This study was developed for two pedagogical purposes--first, to provide a skeleton grammar of the Kashmiri language which could be used by teachers of Kashmiri to develop teaching materials for both Indian and non-Indian learners of Kashmiri; and second, to provide an introductory reference manual of Kashmiri for students of the language. The analysis presented here is therefore "essentially pedagogically oriented." Major chapters are: (1) Introduction (area, speakers, earlier research, dialects, history, writing systems, literary tradition), pp. 1-48; (2) Phonetics and Phonology, pp. 49-67; (3) Word-Formation, pp. 68-80; (4) Word Classes, pp. 81-220; (5) The Noun Phrase, pp. 221-31; (6) The Verb Phrase, pp. 232-42; (7) The Adverbial Phrase, pp. 243-46; and (8) Sentence Types, pp. 247-74. Appended are a partial list of compound verbs, Kashmiri-English and English-Kashmiri glossaries, a bibliography, and an index to the volume. Most of the Kashmiri material is written in romanized phonemic script and the grammatical terminology used is that of modern descriptive linguistics. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (JD)

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A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF KASHMIRI

Braj B. Kachru

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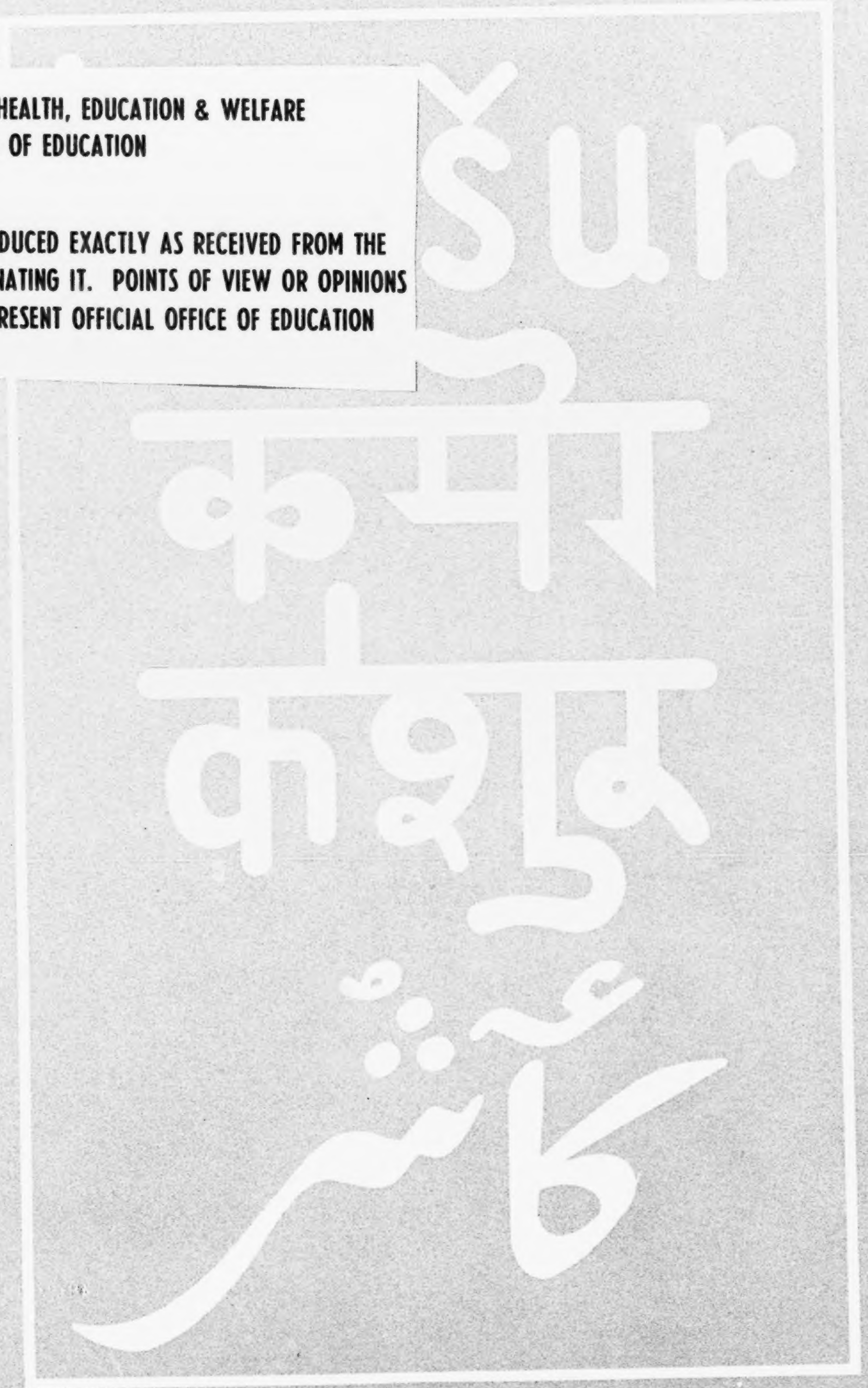

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Department of Linguistics
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A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF KASHMIRI

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, URBANA, ILL. 61801 U.S.A.

MARCH, 1969

A REFERENCE GRAMMAR OF KASHMIRI

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The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C. Contract No. OE-5-14-059. Project Director and Principal Investigator: Braj B. Kachru, Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, 61801, U.S.A.

FOR

PANDIT DĀMODARDĀS KACHRU

and his guru

the late PANDIT ZINDA KOUL, 'MĀSTERJĪ'

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        -kun

        -pə:r'

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        -an

        -nɨy

        -nas

        -nən

        -kani

        -ti

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        ^{N}pə:ṭh'

        Q word pe:ṭh'

        -thɨ

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Kashmiri-English

English-Kashmiri

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PREFACE

The present study has developed primarily from two pedagogical motivations: first, to present a skeleton grammar of the Kashmiri language which may be used by teachers of Kashmiri for developing teaching materials for the Indian and/or non-Indian learners of Kashmiri and second, to provide an introductory reference manual for students of Kashmiri as a teaching and/or learning aid.

The analysis presented here is, therefore, essentially pedagogically oriented. As is evident, the description is not exhaustive and certain interesting topics have either been ignored or have been discussed very briefly.

This grammar has developed out of materials prepared for classes on the Kashmiri language offered at the Inter-University Rotating Summer Program in South Asian Languages and Area Studies, University of Illinois, 1967. It was perhaps the first time in the western world that the Kashmiri language was taught at a university. I am thankful to the students and assistants who showed great interest and excitement for an "exotic" language. I profited immensely from the comments of the group.

It is unfortunate that the Kashmiri language does not get the attention it deserves in the curriculum, even in the area where it is spoken as a native language. This neglect has resulted in an acute paucity of teaching materials for Kashmiri. It is this lack of linguistically and pedagogically oriented materials on Kashmiri which encouraged us to initiate a project on the Kashmiri language at the University of Illinois. We have now extended the scope of the project to include other languages of the Dardic group.

I am fully aware of the limitations of this preliminary study. I would appreciate it if comments would be sent to me so that necessary changes might be made in future versions. It will give me great pleasure if this study initiates further serious linguistic research on Kashmiri. There is no need to discuss here the importance and urgency of research on Kashmiri and other Dardic languages because it has already been very successfully done by linguists such as George A. Grierson, Georg Morgenstierne, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Siddheshwar Varma, and others.

I am extremely thankful to the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for their support for this research.

Braj B. Kachru

March, 1969

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

*	precedes ungrammatical or unacceptable expressions
[ ]	phonetic transcription
/ /	phonemic transcription
'	(following a consonant) shows palatalization of a consonant, e.g., *t'ol* 'jealousy'
~	(above a vowel) shows nasalization, e.g., *ə̃:ṭh* 'stone of a fruit'; *kə̃:ṭur* 'sparrow'
.	(below a consonant) shows retroflexion, e.g., *po:ṭ* 'fine silk thread'
NP	Noun Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
SK	Sanskritized Kashmiri
PK	Persianized Kashmiri
Gen.	Genitive
Loc.	Locative

(See also the list of abbreviations on page 285.)

A NOTE ON TRANSLATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

The English glosses of Kashmiri items do not imply any structural or lexical one to one correspondence between the two languages. At certain places we have attempted lexis-bound translation and at other places we have attempted free translation.

In literature on Kashmiri or other Dardic languages there is no uniformity in transliterating the term 'Kashmiri' or the names of other languages in the area. The transliteration varies among different authors and studies. We have not tried to make the transliteration consistent. Thus one might find, for example, both *Kashtwari* and *Kishṭwāri* or *Shiṇā* and *Shina* in this study.

1. INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Area

The Kashmiri language is spoken in the Kashmir province of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This is the northernmost state of India and it borders on Afghanistan, the U.S.S.R. and China in the north, the Punjab in the south, Tibet in the east and Pakistan in the west. The current boundaries of the state comprise 0.81% of India's population. Kashmiri is also spoken in a small area in West Pakistan. In other parts of India and Pakistan both early and recently settled Kashmiris speak it at home but their number is very insignificant. The language area of Kashmiri and its dialects covers approximately 10,000 square miles in the Kashmir province of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

1.2. The Term [kə:šur]

The people of Kashmir call their land [kəši:r] and their language [kə:šur]. In other languages, such as Hindi - Urdu and Punjabi, the terms [ka:šmi:ri:] or [kašmi:ri:] are used for the language and [ka:šmi:r] or [kašmi:r] for the land. In the studies on Kashmiri in English a great variety of spellings have been used for transliterating the word Kashmiri, e.g., *Kaschemiri*, *Cashmiri*, *Cashmeeree*, *Kaçmiri*.

1.3. Speakers

The exact number of speakers of Kashmiri and other Dardic languages is not known. *The Census of India 1961* [1/] provides some figures but they are restricted to the Indian territory and do not include the parts of Kashmir which are administered by Pakistan. The number of Kashmiri speakers given in the Census is 1,959,115. (For other Dardic languages see 1.6.3.) In the Census Report of 1911 the figure given is 1,195,902.

The Census Report seems to have made arbitrary decisions about considering one language to be the "variety" of another language. On the whole, the Report follows the earlier classification of Grierson. For example, the Report is full of statements of the following type:

> "Kashtwari is a variety of Kashmiri spoken mainly in the Kishtwar area." 2/ "Poguli is another variety of Kashmiri spoken in Jammu area..." 3/ "Bunjwali was returned by 550 speakers from Doda District of Jammu and Kashmir. The language on enquiry was found to be a variety of Kashmiri. So it was tentatively classified with Kashmiri." 4/

It is, therefore, difficult to say what the exact number of Kashmiri speakers is until some reliable figures from both India and Pakistan are made available.

1.4. Earlier Research on Kashmiri and Other Dardic Languages

The earlier research on Kashmiri may be grouped under the following headings:

1. Phonetics and Phonology
2. Morphology and Syntax
3. Dictionaries and Lexical Studies
4. Dialect Studies

1.4.1 Phonetics and Phonology

The studies on phonetics and phonology fall into two categories. First, there are those studies which have been written essentially from the pedagogical point of view. The second group comprises those studies which are mainly concerned with the sound system of the language.

In the period before 1937 the following studies of Grierson, among others, are worth mentioning:

"On the Kāçmīrī Vowel System" [5]

"On the Kāçmīrī Consonantal System" [6]

A Manual of the Kashmiri Language, Comprising Grammar, Phrase-book and Vocabularies. [7]

Bailey's book on *Kashmiri Pronunciation* appeared in 1937. [8] The aim of the book is "to describe the sounds of Kashmiri and to suggest an accurate, but not too elaborate, method of transcription..." The book is meant to be a guide for learning spoken Kashmiri. In his paper on "Kashmiri," Firth [9] gives a specimen transcription of a Kashmiri text (The Prodigal Son) with a "tentative analysis" of Kashmiri sounds. Georg Morgenstierne, commenting on it, writes:

> "...this must be regarded more as an analysis of a bit of Kshm. [Kashmiri] 'parole' than as a record of the phonemic system of the 'langue'..." [10]

Morgenstierne's own study is exhaustive and presents a critical survey of the earlier works on Kashmiri phonetics and phonology. [11] He has commented on some phonological problems of the language from both the diachronic and synchronic points of view (see the *Mātrā* vowels 2.5.)

The transcription he has chosen is quite complicated, which makes it difficult to follow.

Ashok R. Kelkar and Pran Nath Trisal have discussed the word phonology of Srinagar Kashmiri. [12] Trisal has also discussed some aspects of Kashmiri phonology in *Kašmi:ri: Bhaša: ka: Varṇana:tmak Vyākaraṇ*. [13] Kachru's *A Grammatical Sketch of Kashmiri* has a very brief section on phonology. [14] The phoneme inventory given there has been presented elsewhere with a brief discussion of other aspects of Kashmiri. [15]

The only paper restricted to one phonological aspect of Kashmiri is Varma's "Syllabication in the Kashmiri Language." [16] He has made the following observations:

a) The combination of —CC is not possible.

b) The CVCV structure is "peculiar to Kashmiri" because there is "non-acoustic articulation" of the final vowel. (See 2.6.2.)

1.4.2 Morphology and Syntax

There is useful data on traditional morphology and word-classes of Kashmiri in the earlier studies such as Burkhard, [17] Edgeworth, [18] Grierson, [19] and Wade. [20] The descriptive framework for their analyses is essentially that which was used for the analysis of English or Sanskrit. The earliest grammatical treatise on Kashmiri, however, is in Sanskrit written by Īçvara-Kaula entitled the *Kaçmīra Çabdāmṛta* (A Kāçmīrī Grammer). [21] It was edited "with notes and additions" by G. A. Grierson and was published under the auspices of the Asiatic Society in 1897. In the introductory note Grierson writes:

> "Īçvara-Kaula's work is a Grammar of the Kāçmīrī language written in Sanskrit, on the model of an ordinary *Vyākaraṇ*. It is an excellent work, and might have been composed by Hēmacandra himself. Kāçmīrī is a language which is very little known, but which is of great importance for the purpose of comparative philology."

Grierson makes the following observations on the then extant grammars of Kashmiri:

> "Existing grammars of it [Kashmiri] have been made by foreigners, and are imperfect. They all suffer from at least one grave fault, *viz.*, that they are based on the representation of the language which is displayed to them by the Persian alphabet, a system of characters which is quite unable to express the many broken vowel sounds in the language."

The outline of the grammar is as follows:

> "The author commences his Grammar with a chapter on the rules of Sandhi or combination of Vowels only. Then follows a chapter on Declension, divided into three sections, the first describing the declension of Nouns, Substantive and Adjective, the second the luxuriant varieties of the vocative case, and the third the declension of Pronouns. We next have a short chapter on concordance and composition of Nouns, and a long one on Secondary Suffixes, or the Formation of Nouns and Adjectives from other nouns and adjectives. The first part contains a chapter on indeclinables and one on the Formation of Feminines. The second

part contains a Dhātupāthā, a chapter on conjugation, and a chapter on Primary Suffixes, or the formation of Substantives, Adjectives, and various Verbal forms from Roots." 22/

The following papers of Grierson are useful both in terms of the wealth of data they provide and the description: 23/

"On the Kāçmīrī Noun"
"On the Kashmiri Verb"
"On the Primary Suffixes in Kashmiri"
"On the Secondary Suffixes in Kashmiri"

Among the recent works we find a detailed analysis of Kashmiri morphology in Trisal's work. By and large, the syntactic aspects of the Kashmiri language have been neglected. In Grierson's The Linguistic Survey of India out of about 100 pages (233-332) there are only two references to sentence construction in Kashmiri, i.e.:

> "[Order of words] is more like that of Persian than like that of Indian languages. The verb very rarely comes at the end of a sentence, but usually occupies the same place as in English." 24/

Again:

> "In the order of words in a sentence Ksh. [Kashmiri] differs altogether from Indian languages. In the latter the subject comes first, then the object or predicate, and last of all the Verb; but, in Ksh. the Verb precedes the predicate, as in Persian." 25/

In his A Manual of the Kashmiri Language Grierson's treatment of Kashmiri syntax is equally fragmentary. He has made the following addition to the above information on Kashmiri Syntax:

> "In a subordinate sentence the order is different, the verb generally coming last" (p. 64) and "sometimes, for the sake of emphasis, a direct sentence is entirely inverted, much as in German or in poetical English." (p. 65).

In Trisal's Kāshmīrī Bhāshā kā varṇanātmak vyākaraṇ (Hindi) a descriptive analysis of Kashmiri is presented. It is based on about "four thousand words and two thousand sentences." The corpus is taken from the "educated" standard Kashmiri of Srinagar. It again concentrates on morphology and only a small part of it is devoted to syntax. [26]

A Grammatical Sketch of Kashmiri by Kachru is a brief description, and in the Preface he says:

> "It is to be treated as a skeleton analysis, and as a first step towards a detailed description of the Kashmiri language. The theoretical framework adopted here may roughly be termed 'traditional;' and the presentation more or less pedagogically oriented." [27]

In his recent "Some Notes on the Copulative Sentences in Kashmiri" Kachru discusses in detail the syntax of the copulative constructions and also includes "brief digressions on those aspects of the Kashmiri language which are not necessarily related to the study of the Verb 'to be'." [28]

In Russia, Edelman's book Jazyki Kashmira has recently been published. [29]

1.4.3. Dictionaries and Lexical Studies

There is a long tradition of lexical studies in Kashmiri. Some of the vocabulary lists date back to the 18th and 19th centuries. The motivation for producing these studies was not necessarily lexicographical. These studies were produced either as vocabulary guides for non-Kashmiri or non-Indian visitors to the valley which could also be helpful to the missionaries, or as comparative lexical lists for the study of Dardic (or other) languages.

The credit for serious lexicographical work on Kashmiri again goes to Grierson. In 1916 he produced, with the assistance of Mukundarāmā sāstri, a four volume, 1252 page, dictionary of the Kashmiri language. [30] The dictionary was compiled by Grierson from the half-completed Kashmiri-Sanskrit *kōṣa* of Īśvara Kaula (also spelled Īçvara-Kaula) of Srinagar. Grierson in his Preface to the book says that Īśvara Kaula "never lived to complete, much less revise, his *kōṣa* [he died in the year 1893 A.D.]. For the first few letters of the alphabet he had, it is true, written out a fair copy, each entry consisting of a Kāshmīrī word together with a synonym in Sanskrit and another in Hindi, but the greater part of the manuscript...consisted merely of memoranda-lists of Kāshmīrī words with no translation at all, and even these not covering the whole alphabet." [31]

Grierson has made use of both the *Devanāgarī* and the Perso-Arabic scripts. The Kashmiri lexical items are given in the Roman, the *Devanāgarī*, and occasionally in the Perso-Arabic scripts.

The Academy of Art, Culture, and Languages of the government of Jammu and Kashmir is currently engaged in lexicographical work on Kashmiri.

1.4.4. Dialect Surveys

In the earlier works there is no significant information on Kashmiri dialects. Grierson has made some observations both about the area-defined dialects and what he terms "religious dialects" (see 7.0.).

There has, however, been no systematic dialect survey of the area. In a recent Kashmiri publication Abdul Khāliq Ṭak Zainagērī has presented lists of items to show the lexical and phonetic differences in Kashmiri as used in different parts of the valley. [32] This book has some very interesting data.

1.5. Kashmiri in the South Asian Linguistic Context

The place of Kashmiri in Indian linguistic context has not yet been determined. There is a group of scholars who consider Kashmiri an Indo-Aryan language (like Hindi, Punjabi or Bengali) and others who place it under the Dardic branch of Indo-Aryan. The latter claim that the Aryan branch of Indo-European comprises three groups, i.e., Indo-Aryan, Iranian and Dardic.

The debate on this problem still continues and as yet there is no conclusive answer. The question was originally raised by Grierson who claimed that linguistically Kashmiri holds a peculiar position.[33] He argued that it has some formal features which show its Dardic characteristics, and many other features which it shares with the Indo-Aryan languages. In this connection the following observation of Chatterji is interesting:

> "As a language, Kashmiri, at least in its basic stratum, belongs to the Dardic Section of Aryan or Indo-Iranian. Possibly one section of the Aryans who came to India before 1000 B.C. and who spoke dialects very much like the language of *Ṛg-Vëda* but with certain special characteristics (which later gave rise to the Dardic branch of Aryan) became established in the valley of Kashmir, and in the surrounding mountainous tracts; and very early, possibly from after the Vedic Age, Brahmanical Aryans with their Indo-Aryan 'spoken' Sanskrit (and subsequently with the Prakrits) came and settled in Kashmir and other Himalayan areas... In this way, Kashmir, in spite of a Dardic substratum in its people and in its speech, became a part of the Sanskritic culture-world of India. The Indo-Aryan Prakrits and Apabhraṁsá from the Midland and from Northern Punjab profoundly modified the Dardic bases of Kashmiri, so that one might say that the Kashmiri language is a result of a very large over-laying of a Dardic base with Indo-Aryan elements." [34]

There still is no linguistic research to show the "over-laying" of the "elements."

In the following two statements we will find the main reason given by scholars to justify their grouping of Kashmiri. In 1911 the Kashmir Census declared that

> "Kashmiri used to be hitherto treated as of Sanskrit origin. It has this time been grouped with Shiṇā-khōwār according to the revised system of classification, but the claim locally urged

> that it is essentially a Sanskritic language persists, and in view of the historical fact that the Valley of Kashmir, before its conversion to Islām, was wholly populated by Brahmans with their shastric lore, that claim might merit reconsideration." 35/

The above plea for "reconsideration" of the "Sanskritic origin" of Kashmiri motivated Grierson to present evidence with data, so that "questions of sentiment, however much we may sympathize with them, must be put altogether to one side in dealing with a purely scientific question." 36/ Grierson, therefore, argues that:

> "...the Piśācha languages, which include the Shinā-khōwār group, occupy a position intermediate between the Sanskritic languages of India proper and the Eranian Languages farther to their West. They thus possess many features that are common to them and to the Sanskritic languages. But they also possess features peculiar to themselves, and others in which they agree rather with languages of the Eranian family... That language [Kashmiri] possesses nearly all the features that are peculiar to Piśācha, and also those in which Piśācha agrees with Eranian." 37/

It is on the basis of the features listed below that Grierson considers it advisable to mark Kashmiri separate from the Indo-Aryan languages. In his list Grierson shows how the items of Sanskritic stock function in Kashmiri, and more important, how, in this respect, it differs from other languages of the sub-continent: 38/

1. Lack of voiced aspirates in Kashmiri
2. "Confusion between cerebral and dental letters" 39/

3. "Consonantal epenthesis, i.e., the change in a consonant under the influence of the following vowel or semi-vowel" 40/
4. Aspiration of stops in final position
5. No vowel change or gemination of Prākit borrowings in Kashmiri
6. In the environment V+V, ṭ is not dropped
7. /n/ is "liable to elision"
8. a as an indefinite marker
9. /r/ preceding another consonant is not dropped.
10. The presence of a large number of post-positions in Kashmiri which are peculiar to Pisācha
11. The numeral system is typical of Piśācha
12. A three fold system of demonstrative pronouns in Kashmiri
13. A three term system for the past tense
14. Different word order.

It has been argued that lexically Kashmiri has a significant number of Sanskrit borrowings; therefore, it should be treated as a language of Sanskritic origin. This, of course, is very insignificant evidence and Grierson rightly argues against this theory. He says:

> "Finally we come to the question of vocabulary. It is on this that the claim that Kâshmîrî is a Sanskritic language is most strongly based, and, if languages were classed according to vocabulary, the claim would be difficult to controvert. But it is well known that vocabulary cannot be used as a basis of

> linguistic classification.... But, nevertheless, some of the commonest words, -- words that are retained longest on any language, however mixed, and that are seldom borrowed, such as the earlier numerals, or the words for 'father', 'mother', and the like, -- are closely allied to the corresponding Shiṇā words, and are therefore of Piśācha origin..."[41]

Thus Grièrson arrives at the following conclusion:

> "Káshmîrî is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the Piśācha family allied to Shiṇā. It has been powerfully influenced by Indian culture and literature, and the greater part of its vocabulary is now of Indian origin and is allied to that of the Sanskritic Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. As, however, its basis, -- in other words, its phonetic system, its accidence, its syntax, its prosody, -- is Piśācha, it must be classed as such, and not as a Sanskritic form of speech."[42]

It is evident that there still is a great need for typological and comparative research on Kashmiri with the Indo-Aryan and with the Dardic languages in order that the question of its affinity can be answered.

1.6. The Dardic Group of Languages

1.6.1. The Term 'Dard'

In the earliest literature, such as the *Purāṇas* and Kalhana's *Rājatarangiṇi*,[43] the term *dard* is used. It was then used perhaps in a geographical sense and implied "a mountain." It has also been used for the inhabitants of the area which is called 'Dardistān' (the place of the Dards).[44]

In early literature, the term Piśācha languages has also been used as a cover-term for the Dardic group of languages. 45/ The use of this term, however, is not accepted by all, for the location of the Piśācha area and the characteristics of the Pisācha languages are still being debated. The papers of Konow 46/ and Grierson sum up the controversy from two different points of view. Grierson, unlike Konow, believes that:

> "...the whole of Dardistān was once inhabited by the ancestors of the present owners of Hunza and Nagar. It is not impossible that they were identical with the 'Nāgas', who, according to Kashmir Mythology, were the aboriginal inhabitants of the Happy Valley before the arrival of the Pisāchas, and after who every mountain spring in Kashmir is named..." 47/

The term Pisāchā languages is not very common for certain emotional reasons, too. As Grierson says:

> "...some of the speakers of these languages take exception to it on the grounds that, in Indian mythology, the word 'Pisācha' was also used to connote a cannibal demon, and it must be admitted that this was the most common acceptation of the word. In such circumstances, it is useless to explain that a tribe speaking a Pisācha language is not necessarily of Pisācha descent." 48/

1.6.2. The Origin of the Dardic Group

It seems that so far no sophisticated criteria have been used for separating the languages and/or dialects of the family. The figures about the speakers of the Dardic languages are speculative. The studies of G. A. Grierson and G. Morgenstierne are still the only reference works.

The question of the affiliation of the Dardic branch of languages is still not completely answered. In available literature we find that so far the following arguments have been presented. Grierson and some other scholars think the Dardic languages developed out of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European. 49/ A different view is held by Morgenstierne 50/ and Emeneau 51/ who claim that the Dardic family is a separate branch developed from Indo-Iranian. Morgenstierne does not agree with Grierson, and he argues as follows:

> "According to Sir George Grierson's well-known theory the Dardic languages, among which he includes also the Kafir group, form a special branch of Indo-Iranian. And he considers Khow [Khowar] as occupying an independent position within Dardic..." 52/

He continues:

> "I am unable to share these views. The Dardic languages, in contradistinction to the Kafir group, are of pure lA origin and go back to a form of speech closely resembling Vedic. This state of affairs cannot be altered by the fact that Dardic has preserved many archaisms lost in later lA languages, by the widespread loss of aspiration." 53/

On the other hand, Emeneau makes the following observations:

> "It was claimed by Grierson (as well as by some before him) that these two groups of languages [Dardic and Kafir] form a third branch of Indo-Iranian, in that 'they seem to have left the parent

> stem after the Indo-Aryan languages, but before all the typical Iranian characteristics, which we meet in the Avesta, had become developed.' The material which was gathered by Morgenstierne after Grierson's volume appeared, led Morgenstierne to the conclusion (which has been accepted by, e.g., Jules Bloch and Burrow) that the Dardic languages (Kashmiri, Shina, Indus Kohistani, Khowar, Kalasha, Pashai, Tirahi) are Indo-Aryan, but did not pass through the MIA developments represented by the records, while, on the other hand, the Kafir languages (Kati, Waigali, Ashkun, Prasun, and to some extent Dameli) may occupy some sort of special position. The task of sorting out the evidence is considerably complicated by loan words in the Kafir languages from neighboring Iranian languages and from other directions, i.e. from the Kafir languages into neighboring Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages." 54/

Namus treats the Dardic group as one of the three branches of the Indo-European family; the other two being Iranian and Indo-Aryan.

> "The Dard group is in between the Perso-Aryan and Indo-Aryan groups in its stock of words and phrases. It is a smaller group compared to the other two, but possesses its own peculiarities." 55/

1.6.3. The Dardic Family

In the Dardic Family three language groups are included, i.e., Kafir Group, Khowar Group, and Dard Group.

It is rather difficult to give the exact number of speakers of these three groups because political and geographical factors have made it difficult to secure any reliable figures. Often the number of speakers and the name of a language varies from study to study. Traditionally the above three families are further classified as follows:

1. Kāfir-group (Western Dardic) [56]
   Bashgali (kati); wai-alā (wai); wasī-veri (Veron);
   Ashkund; Kalāsha-Pash; Gowār-bati (Narsāti);
   Pashai (Laghmānī, Deghānī); Bashkarik; Tirahi; Prasun;
   Gujuri; Waigeli; Zhonjigali
2. Khōwār-group (Central Dardic) [57]
   Chitralī; Chatrārī; Arniyā
3. Dard-group (Eastern Dardic) [58]
   Shiṇā; Kashmiri; Kohistānī

The three languages of the Dardic group are traditionally further divided into the following dialects:

Shiṇā

Brokpa	Chilāsī	Gilgitī	Shiṇā

Kashmiri

Bunjwali	Kashmiri	Kishṭwāri	Pogulī	Sirāji-Kashmiri

Kohistani

Kaghni	Kohistānī

In the recent Census of India there is some information about those Dardic languages which are spoken in India (see the Table below).

TABLE SHOWING THE SPEAKERS OF DARDIC LANGUAGES [59]

Language (or Group)	Number of Speakers
Kafir Group	1
Khōwār Group	3
Shiṇā	856
Brokpa	544
Chilāsī	82
Gilgiti	76
Sirājī	19,978
Bunjwali	550

1.7. Dialects of Kashmiri

1.7.1. Introduction

At present the dialect situation of Kashmiri is unclear, and without intensive field work in the Kashmiri speaking areas it is difficult to comment on it. The following comments, therefore, are tentative and will need further investigation.

1.7.2. Dialect Variety

In current literature the outdated and arbitrary dialect classification of Kashmiri by Grierson and others continues to be followed. In order to discuss the dialect situation in Kashmiri, we shall divide the dialects into two broad groups, i.e.,

1. those dialects which may be defined in terms of areas, and
2. those dialects which are defined in terms of the users.

1.7.3. Area-Defined Dialects

In terms of area-defined dialects, the Kashmiri speaking speech community has been divided into three parts, labelled

(a) *mara:z* (the southern and southeastern region),

(b) *kamra:z* (the northern and northwestern region), and

(c) *yamra:z* (Srinagar and some of its surrounding areas). It is claimed that the form of Kashmiri spoken in the *mara:z* area is Sanskritized and the one spoken in the *kamra:z* area has deep Dardic influence.

The lists of area-defined dialects in Grierson and other works are not very useful. Often mere lexical similarities have tempted Grierson and other scholars to include "languages" as the dialects of Kashmiri. The list of Kashmiri dialects presented in the Census Report 1961 is different from the one in Grierson. In the former the following are listed: Bunjwali (550), Kishṭwārī (11,633), Ponguli (9,508), Shirajī-Kashmiri (19,978), Kaghani (152), Kohistānī (81). 60/ On the other hand, Grierson, with some justification, claims that Kashmiri has only "one true dialect, Kashṭwārī" and "a number of mixed dialects, such as Pōguli, Sirājī of Ḍōḍā and Rāmbanī.... Farther east, over the greater part of the Riasi District of the State, there are more of these mixed dialects, about which nothing certain is known, except that the mixture is rather between Kashmiri and the Chibhālī form of Lahṇḍā." 61/

The above classifications, both of Grierson and the Census Report, seem to be arbitrary, for there has been no significant linguistically-oriented field research on Kashmiri.

The following are traditionally mentioned as the dialects of Kashmiri. This list, however, varies in different descriptions.

1. Kashṭwārī: This is spoken in the valley of Kashṭwār which lies to the southeast of Srinagar, on the upper Chināb River. It is written in Ṭakari characters. Since it is spoken in a transition zone, naturally it shows deep influence of Pahārī and Lahṇḍā dialects.

2. Poguli: This is spoken to the west of Kashṭwār in the valleys of Pogul, Paristan and Sar, and to the south of the Pir Pantsal range. Poguli, like Kashṭwāri, shows influence of Pahārī and

Sar, and to the south of the Pir Pantsal range. Poguli, like Kashṭwari, shows influence of Pahārī and Lahnḍā dialects. Graham Bailey uses the cover term Poguli for the languages of this area. [62]

3. Sirāji: Sirāji presents a typical case of a dialect which is difficult to classify. Grierson thinks that it can "with almost equal correctness be classed as a dialect of Kashmiri because it possesses certain Dardic characteristics which are absent in Western Pahāṛi." [63] This is obviously a very arbitrary method of classification.

4. Rambani: This is spoken in Ramban and the surrounding areas. Ramban is a small town situated on the banks of the Chināb on the road between Srinagar and Jammu. It has a large number of features which it shares with Dogri.

It is possible that further investigation may show that in addition to village dialects, Sanskritized and Persianized "dialects," Kashtwāri is the only dialect of Kashmiri. The other dialects discussed here may prove only partially influenced by Kashmiri since they are spoken in the "transition zones."

1.7.4. Non-Area Defined Dialects

The non-area defined forms of Kashmiri are of two types. First, those which show great influence of Sanskrit and Persian; second, those which tend to mark the profession or occupation of the user.

1.7.4.1. Sanskritized and Persianized Kashmiri

It is generally claimed that Kashmiri has two "religious" dialects termed Hindu Kashmiri and Muslim Kashmiri. [64] The religious dichotomy in Kashmiri seems to have started with Grierson's description of the language and has since been maintained. The reasons given to justify such a dichotomy are the following:

1. that the users of these two dialects use distinct vocabulary, which by and large in the case of Hindus is loaded with Sanskrit borrowings, and in the case of Muslims with Persian (and Arabic) borrowings, and
2. that there are certain phonetic/phonological features which mark the speakers of the two communities.

It seems to me that the situation is not very clear-cut and that structurally such a dichotomy cannot be justified. Perhaps such an impression comes from the features which may be attributed to the speakers of the two communities in Srinagar, but it gives an erroneous picture about the general dialect situation of the language. In terms of the general situation of Kashmiri one could perhaps use neutral terms such as Sanskritized Kashmiri (SK) and Persianized Kashmiri (PK).

The differences between these two types may be better explained if we use the term "style differences" for them. The users of SK and/or PK constantly engage in "style-switching" when that is needed in terms of the participants and situations.

The features which distinguish SK and PK are the following:

1. Phonetically and phonologically there are certain features which are either peculiar to Muslims in Srinagar or form a sub-system of loan phonology and are used only in borrowed words by the educated speakers of both communities. The differences between the two communities are in the distribution and frequency of certain phonemes (see below 1.7.4.1.1.1.).

2. Lexically the vocabulary of the so-called Hindu Kashmiri has a profusion of Sanskrit lexical items, and the so-called Muslim Kashmiri has large scale borrowing from Persian (and Arabic) sources.

3. Morphologically the same influences may be detected as in the vocabulary.

1.7.4.1.1. Style-Markers

A partial list of the variations found in the two styles follows:

1.7.4.1.1.1. Pronunciation Variation

The pronunciation variations are mainly in terms of substitution of phonemes in individual lexical items. It seems that the users of SK and PK share one overall phonological system.

In Srinagar Kashmiri, /ṛ/ alternates with /r/ in the speech of Muslims. This feature is shared by both the communities in village Kashmiri (e.g., SK - *gur* 'horse', *yo:r* 'here', *ho:r* 'there'; PK - *guṛ*, *yo:ṛ*, *ho:ṛ*). Note also the following differences, among others:

(a) Vowels

1. Central Vowel : Front Vowel (e.g., SK - *rɨkh* 'line', *tɨkh* 'run', *khɨn'* 'nasal mucus'; PK - *rikh*, *ṭikh*, *khin'*);

2. High Central Vowel : Low Central Vowel (e.g., SK - *gə̃:ṭh* 'an eagle', *dəh* 'ten', *kəhvɨ* 'tea'; PK - *gã:ṭh*, *dah*, *kahvɨ*);

3. Central Vowel : Back Vowel (e.g., SK - *mə:ị̆* 'mother', PK - *mo:ị̆*);

4. Initial Back Vowel : Central Vowel (e.g., SK - *o:lav* 'potatoes'; PK - *ə:lav*);

5. High Back Vowel : Low Back Vowel (e.g., SK - *gula:b* 'rose'; PK - *gɔla:b*).

(b) Consonants

1. /v/ : /ph/ (e.g., SK - *kho(h)vur* 'left', *ho(h)vur* 'wife's parents' home'; PK - *khophur*, *hophur*);

2. Initial /cr/ : /c'/ (e.g., SK - *kru:r* 'well', *bro:r* 'cat'; PK - *k'u:r*, *b'o:r*).

3. /r/ : /ṛ/ (e.g., SK - *ko:r* 'where', *gur* 'horse', *to:r* 'there', *gagur* 'mouse', *yo:r* 'here', *ho:r* 'there'; PK - *ko:ṛ*, *guṛ*, *to:ṛ*, *gaguṛ*, *yo:ṛ*, *ho:ṛ*).

1.7.4.1.1.2. Morphological Variation

The morphological differences are of two types:

1. those which differ in their source (see above); and
2. those which show the presence of an item in one community which is now absent in the speech of the other community.

Note, for example, that in PK *hargah* has been preserved as a conjunction, but in SK it is fast disappearing--at least in Srinagar SK. In Srinagar, *agar* is used more frequently (this is a loan from Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi). This also applies to the form *mɔkhɨ* (e.g., *ami mɔkhɨ go:s nɨ bɨ tot* 'I did not go there for this reason') which is restricted to PK. The use of the following declensions is also restricted to Muslims in Srinagar Kashmiri, though used by both the communities in the villages: *nɔm* (fem. *nɔmɨ*), *nɔmanhund*, *noman*, *nɔmav* (see 4.3.3.1.5.).

Note that it is not necessarily true that only the PK source items are used by Kashmiri Muslims. For example, *tsəndɨr* 'moon' is more frequent among Muslims than among Hindus. Hindus generally use the item *zu:n*.

1.7.4.1.1.3. Lexical Variations

The lexical variation in the two styles is based on the sources of the lexical items. A number of registers (e.g., legal, business) have a high frequency of Perso-Arabic borrowings and are shared by both communities. Consider, for example, the following items:

(athɨ)čhalun	'to wash hands'	(athɨ)pɨṭhrun
amr'ath	'holy water'	a:bihaya:t
kuṭh	'room'	manḍav
kru:d	'anger'	gɔsɨ
ganḍun	'betrothal'	nišɘ:n'
ǰəǰi:r	'hubble-bubble'	hɔkɨ
ǰa:y	'place'	ša:y
zana:n	'wife'	kɔlay
zal	'water'	a:bre:z
za:th	'surname'	kra:m
zuka:m	'influenza'	nəzɨl
trɨy[65]	'wife'	kɔlay (zana:n)
tha:l	'dish'	trɘ:m'
darɨm	'religion'	di:n
di:kči	'a big cooking vessel'	de:g
nə:rilɨ	'hubble-bubble'	ǰeǰi:r (hɔkɨ)
namaska:r	'greeting'	sala:m
narukh	'hell'	ǰahnam
n'eni	'meat'	na:ṭɨ
ne:thɨr	'marriage'	khã:dər
pəǰ	'a big basket'	ḍa:kɨr
pɘṭ	'funeral'	to:bu:d
pə:ǰa:mɨ	'trousers'	yeze:rɨ
pa:ph	'sin'	gɔnah
pɔn'	'good deed'	sava:b
po:n'	'water'	a:b
pra:n	'soul'	ruh

praba:th	'early morning (dawn)'	saha:r
pha:kɨ darɨn'	'to observe a fast'	ro:zɨ darɨn
bak(h)šun	'to excuse, to forgive'	sava:b
bagva:n	'God'	khɔda:
bandgi:	'greeting'	a:da:b
bartha:	'husband'	kha:vand
bu:ṭh	'shoes'	khɔrba:nɨ
bod	'a bundle'	dɔph
bohgun	'cooking vessel'	pəti:lɨ
mədre:r	'sugar'	khanḍ
marɨd	'a man'	mohn'uv
mahra:	'sir'	haz
gor	'teacher'	vɔsta:d
mɨthɨr	'urine'	idra:r
mu:rti	'idol'	pɔtul
mɔgil' ča:y	'Kashmiri tea'	kahvɨ (kəhvɨ)
mo:l	'father'	bab
rəčh	'amulet'	tə:vi:z
ra:th	'night'	šab
ruvã:gun	'tomato'	rə:ṭh'vã:gun
ru:n	'husband'	kh:vand
ləgɨn	'marriage ceremony'	nikah
lu:r	'stick'	kuṭun (lu:r)
vurɨ bal	'special kitchen'	va:zɨva:n
vɔ(h)rɨvo:d	'birthday'	za:dɔh
šɔkrɨva:r	'Friday'	ǰumah
šra:n	'bath'	gɔsul

šru: ts	'pure'	pa: kh
šro: ts	'ablution'	taha: rath
sandu: kh	'a box'	pi: ṭ '
sand'a: (vakht)	'dusk'	khɔphtan
samkhun	'a visit for condolence'	tə: ziyat
siri:	'sun'	aphta: b (akhta: b)
sɔpun	'dream'	kha: b
sɔrɨg	'paradise'	ǰanath
halvo: y	'sweetmeat seller'	monǰigor (halvo: y)
havah	'wind'	va: v

Note that the use of the two sets of lexical items is not mutually exclusive. A speaker may switch from one set to another, or may use only one set of items depending on the situation and other factors.

1.7.5. Standard Kashmiri

The language spoken in the valley of Srinagar, Kashmir, is generally considered standard Kashmiri. In addition to the languages of poetry and prose, standard Kashmiri is slowly developing literary styles. Since 1947 Kashmiri has been put to some administrative, educational and literary uses which is naturally helping in developing distinct registers of the language.

1.8. Writing Systems

1.8.1. Introduction

The traditional writing system associated with the Kashmiri language is Shāradā (see below 1.8.2.). The Shāradā script now has a very restricted use and has been replaced by other scripts (see 1.8.3. to 1.8.5.). There is, therefore, no one script which is used by all Kashmiri speakers. The reasons for this lack of uniformity in the use of script are both socio-religious and political, and we shall not discuss them here. The following is a brief description of the writing systems used for Kashmiri.

1.8.2. Shāradā

The earliest literary works and other documents in the Kashmiri language are written in the Shāradā script. This script developed around the 10th century. It seems that later, due to historical and political reasons, it slowly became obsolete though it did not completely die out. The older generation of priests of the Kashmiri Pandit community still use it in a restricted sense, especially for horoscope writing. A knowledge of the Shāradā script is useful for serious historical work on tracing the development of the Kashmiri language.

It is claimed [66/] that the name of the Shāradā alphabet is based on the traditional Sanskrit name of the Kashmir Valley, i.e., [ša:rda:bhu:mi] or [ša:rda:kse:tr]. Elmslie,[67/] on the other hand, thinks that the script is namedafter Sharadānandan who first evolved a writing system for the Kashmiri language.

The *Shāradā* script is closely related to the *Devanāgarī* or *Nāgarī* system used for most of the northern Indic languages. In his detailed treatment of this script Grierson says:

> "It [*Shāradā*] is most nearly related to the Takri alphabet of the Pūnjāb Hills and to the *Laṇḍā*, or 'clipped', alphabet of the Pūnjāb, and through them to the Gurumukhi alphabet, but, unlike them, and like Nāgarī, it puts the letters *sa* and *ha* at the end of the alphabet, and not after the vowels." [68]

The formation of the *Shāradā* alphabet is somewhat different from the *Devanāgarī* letters and every letter has a name.

1.8.2.1. Vowels

Devanāgarī	Shāradā	Kashmiri name in Devanāgarī and Shāradā		Kashmiri Name in Roman
अ	𑆃	आदव अ	𑆄𑆢𑆮 𑆃	a:dav a
आ	𑆄	आतव आ	𑆄𑆠𑆮 𑆄	a:tav a:
इ	𑆅	इयव इ	𑆅𑆪𑆮 𑆅	yiyav yi:
ई	𑆆	ईश्वरव ई	𑆆𑆯𑆫𑆮 𑆆	i:šarav i:
उ	𑆇	उपल उ	𑆇𑆥𑆬 𑆇	vopal (upal) vo: (o:)
ऊ	𑆈	उपलबा ऊ	𑆇𑆥𑆬𑆧𑆳 𑆈	vopalba: vu:
ऋ	𑆉	रिनव ऋ	𑆫𑆴𑆤𑆮 𑆉	rinav ṛe
ॠ	𑆊	रुखव ॠ	𑆫𑆶𑆒𑆮 𑆊	rukhav ṛu
ऌ	𑆋	लियव ऌ	𑆬𑆴𑆪𑆮 𑆋	liyav lr
ॡ	𑆌	लूसव ॡ	𑆬𑆷𑆱𑆮 𑆌	lisav ḷ
ए	𑆍	क्रालव ए	𑆑𑇀𑆫𑆳𑆬𑆮 𑆍	kra:lav ye: (or ta:lav ye:)
ऐ	𑆎	त्राली ऐ	𑆠𑇀𑆫𑆳𑆬𑆵 𑆎	tra:li ai
ओ	𑆏	उठो ओ	𑆇𑆜𑆾 𑆏	vuṭho: (uṭho:)o:
औ	𑆐	औषधी औ	𑆐𑆰𑆣𑆵 𑆐	aušidi au
अं	𑆃𑆁	मसफिरि अं	𑆩𑆱𑆦𑆴𑆫𑆴 𑆃𑆁	masphiri aṁ
अः	𑆃𑆂	दुफिरि अः	𑆢𑆶𑆦𑆴𑆫𑆴 𑆃𑆂	dupheri aḥ

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1.8.2.2. Consonants [69]

Devanāgarī Symbol	Shāradā Symbol	Kashmiri name in Devanāgarī and Shāradā				Kashmiri name in Roman
क	𑆑	कोव	क	𑆑𑆻𑆮	𑆑	ko:v ka
ख	𑆒	खन्य	ख	𑆒𑆤𑇀𑆪	𑆒	khoni (khɔn') kha
ग	𑆓	गगर	ग	𑆓𑆓𑆫	𑆓	gagar ga
घ	𑆔	घ॒स	घ	𑆔𑆱	𑆔	gatsɨ ga
ङ	𑆕	नारुग	ङ	𑆤𑆳𑆫𑆶𑆓	𑆕	na:rug na
च	𑆖	च़ाटुव	च	𑆖𑆳𑆛𑆶𑆮	𑆖	tsa:ṭuv tsa
छ	𑆗	छुटिन्य	छ	𑆗𑆶𑆛𑆴𑆤𑇀𑆪	𑆗	tshoṭin' tsha
ज	𑆘	ज़य	ज	𑆘𑆪	𑆘	zayi za
झ	𑆙	झशुन्य	झ	𑆙𑆯𑆶𑆤𑇀𑆪	𑆙	zošin' za
ञ	𑆚	खुनफुट	ञ	𑆒𑆶𑆤𑆦𑆶𑆛	𑆚	khon'phuṭ n'
ट	𑆛	अरमा	ट	𑆄𑆫𑆩𑆳	𑆛	arma ṭa:
ठ	𑆜	सरमा	ठ	𑆱𑆫𑆩𑆳	𑆜	sarma ṭha
ड	𑆝	डु	ड	𑆝𑆶	𑆝	ḍu ḍa
ढ	𑆞	ढक	ढ	𑆞𑆑	𑆞	ḍaka ḍa
ण	𑆟	नानगुर	ण	𑆤𑆳𑆤𑆓𑆶𑆫	𑆟	na:nagur' na [ṇa]
त	𑆠	तोव	त	𑆠𑆻𑆮	𑆠	to:v ta
थ	𑆡	थाजि	थ	𑆡𑆳𑆘𑆴	𑆡	tha:ǰi tha
द	𑆢	ददव	द	𑆢𑆢𑆮	𑆢	dadav da
ध	𑆣	धूनि	ध	𑆣𑆷𑆤𑆴	𑆣	du:n' da
न	𑆤	नस्तुव	न	𑆤𑆱𑇀𑆠𑆶𑆮	𑆤	nastuv na

Devanāgarī Symbol	Shāradā Symbol	Kashmiri name in Devanāgarī and Shāradā		Kashmiri name in Roman
प	𑆥	पदुर प	𑆥𑆢𑆶𑆫 𑆥	pa:dur' pa:
फ	𑆦	फरिन्य फ	𑆦𑆫𑆴𑆤 𑆦	pha:rɨn' pha:
ब	𑆧	बु ब	𑆧𑆶 𑆧	bu ba:
भ	𑆨	भाइ भ	𑆨𑆳𑆪 𑆨	ba:y ba:
म	𑆩	मोव म	𑆩𑆺𑆮 𑆩	mo:v ma:
य	𑆪	याव य	𑆪𑆳𑆮 𑆪	ya:va ye:
र	𑆫	रक र	𑆫𑆑 𑆫	rak ra
ल	𑆬	लाव ल	𑆬𑆳𑆮 𑆬	la:v la
व	𑆮	वश व	𑆮𑆯 𑆮	vaši va
श	𑆯	शकर श	𑆯𑆑𑆫 𑆯	šekar še
ष	𑆰	फार्य ष	𑆦𑆳𑆫 𑆰	pha:r' še
स	𑆱	सु स	𑆱𑆶 𑆱	su sa
ह	𑆲	हाल ह	𑆲𑆬 𑆲	ha:l ha
क्ष	𑆑𑇀𑆰	कुल्यउठ क्ष	𑆑𑆶𑆬𑇀𑆪𑆇𑆜 𑆑𑇀𑆰	kul'oṭh khe
त्र	𑆠𑇀𑆫	त्रुकत्रोव त्र	𑆠𑇀𑆫𑆶𑆑𑆠𑇀𑆫𑆾𑆮 𑆠𑇀𑆫	truk trov tra
ज्ञ	𑆘𑇀𑆚	नारुगड-तल- नानगुर ज्ञ	𑆤𑆳𑆫𑆶𑆓𑆍𑆬· 𑆤𑆳𑆤𑆓𑆶𑆫 𑆘𑇀𑆚	

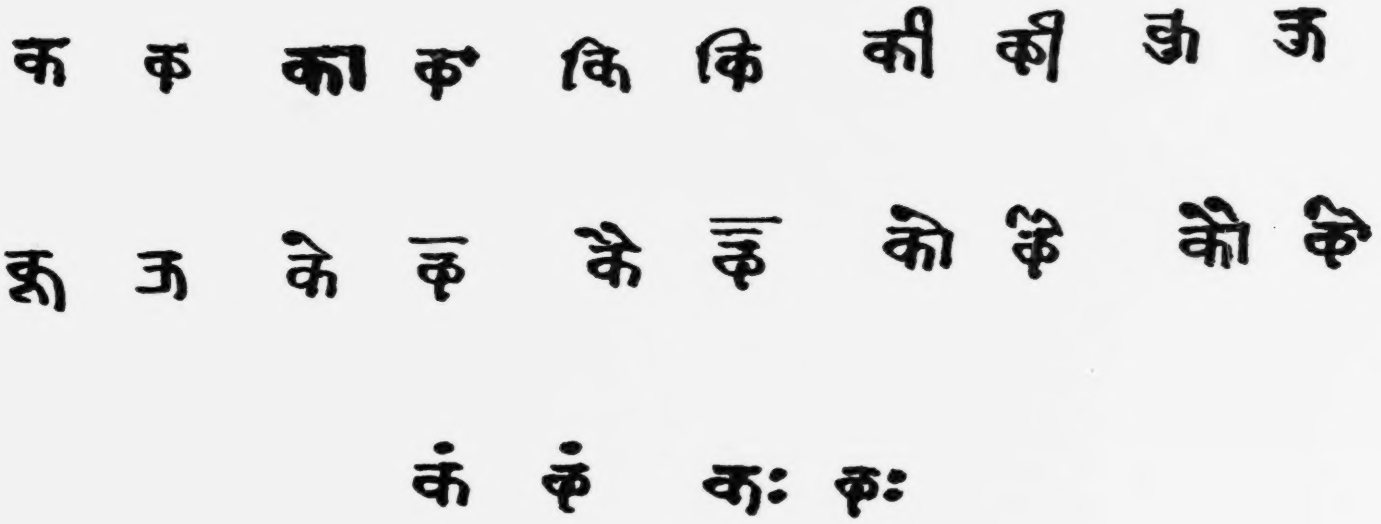
1.8.2.3. *Vowel Mātrās*

In the *Shāradā* script, as in the Devanāgarī script, every vowel except अ has a sign (called *mātrā*) which is added to a consonant character in certain environments.

The following is a list of such *mātrās* in the *Shāradā* script:

Devanāgarī		Shāradā	
अ		𑆃	
आ	ा	𑆄	𑆳
इ	ि	𑆅	𑆴
ई	ी	𑆆	𑆵
उ	ु	𑆇	𑆶
ऊ	ू	𑆈	𑆷
ऋ	ृ	𑆉	𑆸
ॠ	ॄ	𑆊	𑆹
ए	े	𑆍	𑆼
ऐ	ै	𑆎	𑆽
ओ	ो	𑆏	𑆾
औ	ौ	𑆐	𑆿
अं	ं	𑆃𑆁	𑆁
अः	ः	𑆃𑆂	𑆂

The mātrās added to the consonant ka are as follows:

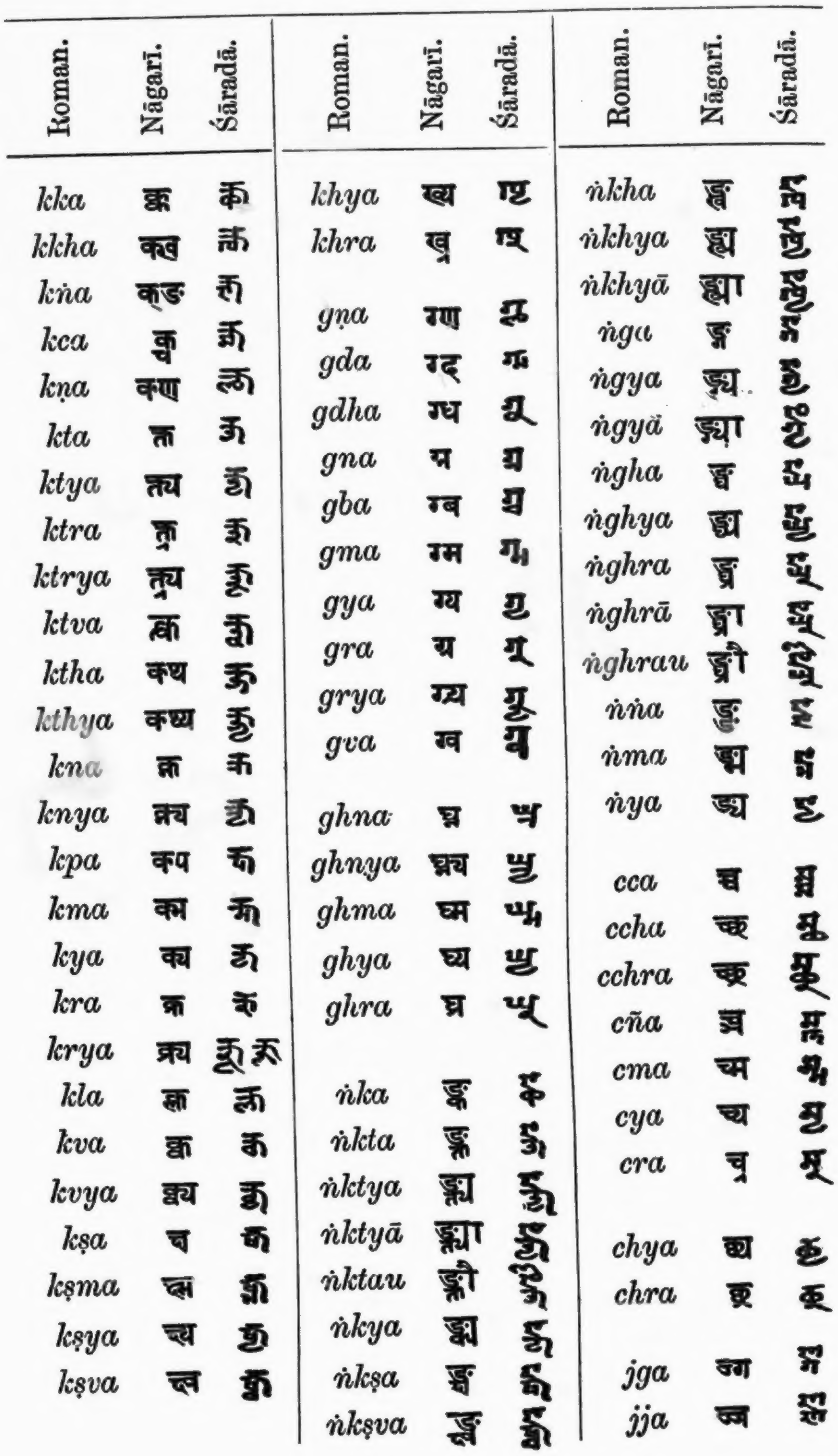


Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.	Kāshmīrī name in Nāgarī.	Kāshmīrī name in Roman.
ka	क	𑆑	कोव् क	*kōv ka*
kā	का	𑆑𑆳	कोव् क वहाय् का	*kōv ka wahāy kā*
ki	कि	𑆑𑆴	कोव् क मूँन्थ्रि कि	*kōv ka mū̃nth*^{a}*r*^{i} *ki*
kī	की	𑆑𑆵	कोव् क अर् मूँन्थराँ की	*kōv ka ar mū̃nth*^{a}*rā̃ kī*
khu	खु	𑆒𑆶	खुँनि ख खूरि खु	*khŏn*^{i} *kha khūr*^{i} *khu*
khū	खू	𑆒𑆷	खुँनि ख अर् खूरू खू	*khŏn*^{i} *kha ar khūr*^{ū} *khū*
kṛ	कृ	𑆑𑆸	कोव् कहस् तल् ऋँनव् ऋँ	*kōv kahas tal ṛĕnav ṛĕ*
kṝ	कॄ	𑆑𑆹	कोव् कहस् तल् ऱ्खव् ॠ	*kōv kahas tal r*^{a}*khav r*^{ū}
kḷ	कॢ	𑆑𑆺	कोव् कहस् तल् ऌँयव् ऌँ	*kōv kahas tal lĕyĕv ḷĕ*
kḹ	कॣ	𑆑𑆻	कोव् कहस् तल् लीसव् ॡ	*kōv kahas tal līsav ḹ*
kē	के	𑆑𑆼	कोव् क हुंज्य के	*kōv ka hŏnjĕ kē*
kai	कै	𑆑𑆽	कोव् क हुंजोर् कै	*kōv ka hŏnjōr kai*
kō	को	𑆑𑆾	कोव् क अंकु श्यूरि को	*kōv ka ok*^{u} *shyūr*^{i} *kō*
kau	कौ	𑆑𑆿	कोव् क अंकुशि वहाय् कौ	*kōv ka ok*^{u}*sh*^{i} *wahāy kau*
kaṁ	कं	𑆑𑆁	कोव् क मस् फ्यरि कं	*kōv ka mas phĕr*^{i} *kaṁ*
kaḥ	कः	𑆑𑆂	कोव् क दो फ्यरि कः	*kōv ka dō phĕr*^{i} *kaḥ*

This Table is taken from G.A. Grierson "On The Sarada Alphabet", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,1916, p. 689.

1.8.2.4. Conjunct Consonants

A conjunct consonant means the combination of two or more consonant characters. The following Table of conjunct consonants is taken from Griersons' study on the Shāradā script.[70]



Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.
kka	क्क	𑆑𑇀𑆑	*khya*	ख्य	𑆒𑇀𑆪	*ṅkha*	ङ्ख	𑆕𑇀𑆒
kkha	क्ख	𑆑𑇀𑆒	*khra*	ख्र	𑆒𑇀𑆫	*ṅkhya*	ङ्ख्य	𑆕𑇀𑆒𑇀𑆪
kṅa	क्ङ	𑆑𑇀𑆕				*ṅkhyā*	ङ्ख्या	𑆕𑇀𑆒𑇀𑆪𑆳
kca	क्च	𑆑𑇀𑆖	*gṇa*	ग्ण	𑆓𑇀𑆟	*ṅga*	ङ्ग	𑆕𑇀𑆓
kṇa	क्ण	𑆑𑇀𑆟	*gda*	ग्द	𑆓𑇀𑆢	*ṅgya*	ङ्ग्य	𑆕𑇀𑆓𑇀𑆪
kta	क्त	𑆑𑇀𑆠	*gdha*	ग्ध	𑆓𑇀𑆣	*ṅgyā*	ङ्ग्या	𑆕𑇀𑆓𑇀𑆪𑆳
ktya	क्त्य	𑆑𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆪	*gna*	ग्न	𑆓𑇀𑆤	*ṅgha*	ङ्घ	𑆕𑇀𑆔
ktra	क्त्र	𑆑𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆫	*gba*	ग्ब	𑆓𑇀𑆧	*ṅghya*	ङ्घ्य	𑆕𑇀𑆔𑇀𑆪
ktrya	क्त्र्य	𑆑𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆫𑇀𑆪	*gma*	ग्म	𑆓𑇀𑆩	*ṅghra*	ङ्घ्र	𑆕𑇀𑆔𑇀𑆫
ktva	क्त्व	𑆑𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆮	*gya*	ग्य	𑆓𑇀𑆪	*ṅghrā*	ङ्घ्रा	𑆕𑇀𑆔𑇀𑆫𑆳
ktha	क्थ	𑆑𑇀𑆡	*gra*	ग्र	𑆓𑇀𑆫	*ṅghrau*	ङ्घ्रौ	𑆕𑇀𑆔𑇀𑆫𑆾
kthya	क्थ्य	𑆑𑇀𑆡𑇀𑆪	*grya*	ग्र्य	𑆓𑇀𑆫𑇀𑆪	*ṅṅa*	ङ्ङ	𑆕𑇀𑆕
kna	क्न	𑆑𑇀𑆤	*gva*	ग्व	𑆓𑇀𑆮	*ṅma*	ङ्म	𑆕𑇀𑆩
knya	क्न्य	𑆑𑇀𑆤𑇀𑆪				*ṅya*	ङ्य	𑆕𑇀𑆪
kpa	क्प	𑆑𑇀𑆥	*ghna*	घ्न	𑆔𑇀𑆤			
kma	क्म	𑆑𑇀𑆩	*ghnya*	घ्न्य	𑆔𑇀𑆤𑇀𑆪	*cca*	च्च	𑆖𑇀𑆖
kya	क्य	𑆑𑇀𑆪	*ghma*	घ्म	𑆔𑇀𑆩	*ccha*	च्छ	𑆖𑇀𑆗
kra	क्र	𑆑𑇀𑆫	*ghya*	घ्य	𑆔𑇀𑆪	*cchra*	च्छ्र	𑆖𑇀𑆗𑇀𑆫
krya	क्र्य	𑆑𑇀𑆫𑇀𑆪 𑆑𑇀𑆫𑇀𑆪	*ghra*	घ्र	𑆔𑇀𑆫	*cña*	च्ञ	𑆖𑇀𑆚
kla	क्ल	𑆑𑇀𑆬				*cma*	च्म	𑆖𑇀𑆩
kva	क्व	𑆑𑇀𑆮	*ṅka*	ङ्क	𑆕𑇀𑆑	*cya*	च्य	𑆖𑇀𑆪
kvya	क्व्य	𑆑𑇀𑆮𑇀𑆪	*ṅkta*	ङ्क्त	𑆕𑇀𑆑𑇀𑆠	*cra*	च्र	𑆖𑇀𑆫
kṣa	क्ष	𑆑𑇀𑆰	*ṅktya*	ङ्क्त्य	𑆕𑇀𑆑𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆪			
kṣma	क्ष्म	𑆑𑇀𑆰𑇀𑆩	*ṅktyā*	ङ्क्त्या	𑆕𑇀𑆑𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆪𑆳	*chya*	छ्य	𑆗𑇀𑆪
kṣya	क्ष्य	𑆑𑇀𑆰𑇀𑆪	*ṅktau*	ङ्क्तौ	𑆕𑇀𑆑𑇀𑆠𑆾	*chra*	छ्र	𑆗𑇀𑆫
kṣva	क्ष्व	𑆑𑇀𑆰𑇀𑆮	*ṅkya*	ङ्क्य	𑆕𑇀𑆑𑇀𑆪			
			ṅkṣa	ङ्क्ष	𑆕𑇀𑆑𑇀𑆰	*jga*	ज्ग	𑆘𑇀𑆓
			ṅkṣva	ङ्क्ष्व	𑆕𑇀𑆑𑇀𑆰𑇀𑆮	*jja*	ज्ज	𑆘𑇀𑆘

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.
jjha	ज्झ	𑆘𑇀𑆙 𑆘𑇀𑆙
jña	ज्ञ	𑆘𑇀𑆚 𑆘𑇀𑆚
jñā	ज्ञा	𑆘𑇀𑆚𑆳 𑆘𑇀𑆚𑆳
jñya	ज्ञ्य	𑆘𑇀𑆚𑇀𑆪
jma	ज्म	𑆘𑇀𑆩 𑆘𑇀𑆩
jya	ज्य	𑆘𑇀𑆪
jra	ज्र	𑆘𑇀𑆫
jva	ज्व	𑆘𑇀𑆮
ñca	ञ्च	𑆚𑇀𑆖
ñcma	ञ्च्म	𑆚𑇀𑆖𑇀𑆩
ñcya	ञ्च्य	𑆚𑇀𑆖𑇀𑆪
ñcha	ञ्छ	𑆚𑇀𑆗
ñja	ञ्ज	𑆚𑇀𑆘
ñña	ञ्ञ	𑆚𑇀𑆚
ñya	ञ्य	𑆚𑇀𑆪
ṭṭa	ट्ट	𑆛𑇀𑆛
ṭṭā	ट्टा	𑆛𑇀𑆛𑆳
ṭṭha	ट्ठ	𑆛𑇀𑆜
ṭpa	ट्प	𑆛𑇀𑆥
ṭya	ट्य	𑆛𑇀𑆪
ṭhya	ठ्य	𑆜𑇀𑆪
ṭhra	ठ्र	𑆜𑇀𑆫
ḍga	ड्ग	𑆝𑇀𑆓
ḍgya	ड्ग्य	𑆝𑇀𑆓𑇀𑆪

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.
ḍgha	ड्घ	𑆝𑇀𑆔
ḍghra	ड्घ्र	𑆝𑇀𑆔𑇀𑆫 𑆝𑇀𑆔𑇀𑆫
ḍja	ड्ज ड्ज	𑆝𑇀𑆘 𑆝𑇀𑆘
ḍjā	ड्जा	𑆝𑇀𑆘𑆳 𑆝𑇀𑆘𑆳
ḍḍha	ड्ढ	𑆝𑇀𑆞
ḍda	ड्द	𑆝𑇀𑆢
ḍdha	ड्ध	𑆝𑇀𑆣
ḍma	ड्म	𑆝𑇀𑆩 𑆝𑇀𑆩
ḍya	ड्य	𑆝𑇀𑆪
ḍra	ड्र	𑆝𑇀𑆫
ḍhya	ढ्य	𑆞𑇀𑆪
ḍhra	ढ्र	𑆞𑇀𑆫
ṇṭa	ण्ट	𑆟𑇀𑆛
ṇṭā	ण्टा	𑆟𑇀𑆛𑆳
ṇṭha	ण्ठ	𑆟𑇀𑆜
ṇṭhya	ण्ठ्य	𑆟𑇀𑆜𑇀𑆪
ṇṭhyau	ण्ठ्यौ	𑆟𑇀𑆜𑇀𑆪𑆿
ṇḍ	ण्ड	𑆟𑇀𑆝
ṇḍya	ण्ड्य	𑆟𑇀𑆝𑇀𑆪
ṇḍra	ण्ड्र	𑆟𑇀𑆝𑇀𑆫
ṇḍrya	ण्ड्र्य	𑆟𑇀𑆝𑇀𑆫𑇀𑆪
ṇḍha	ण्ढ	𑆟𑇀𑆞
ṇḍhā	ण्ढा	𑆟𑇀𑆞𑆳
ṇṇa	ण्ण	𑆟𑇀𑆟
ṇṇā	ण्णा	𑆟𑇀𑆟𑆳

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.
ṇṇau	ण्णौ	𑆟𑇀𑆟𑆿
ṇma	ण्म	𑆟𑇀𑆩
ṇmā	ण्मा	𑆟𑇀𑆩𑆳
ṇya	ण्य	𑆟𑇀𑆪
ṇva	ण्व	𑆟𑇀𑆮
tka	त्क	𑆠𑇀𑆑
tkra	त्क्र	𑆠𑇀𑆑𑇀𑆫
tta	त्त	𑆠𑇀𑆠
ttya	त्त्य	𑆠𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆪
ttra	त्त्र	𑆠𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆫
ttva	त्त्व	𑆠𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆮
ttha	त्थ	𑆠𑇀𑆡
tna	त्न	𑆠𑇀𑆤
tnya	त्न्य	𑆠𑇀𑆤𑇀𑆪
tpa	त्प	𑆠𑇀𑆥
tpra	त्प्र	𑆠𑇀𑆥𑇀𑆫
tma	त्म	𑆠𑇀𑆩
tmya	त्म्य	𑆠𑇀𑆩𑇀𑆪
tya	त्य	𑆠𑇀𑆪
tra	त्र	𑆠𑇀𑆫
trya	त्र्य	𑆠𑇀𑆫𑇀𑆪
tva	त्व	𑆠𑇀𑆮
tsa	त्स	𑆠𑇀𑆱
tsna	त्स्न	𑆠𑇀𑆱𑇀𑆤
tsnya	त्स्न्य	𑆠𑇀𑆱𑇀𑆤𑇀𑆪
tsya	त्स्य	𑆠𑇀𑆱𑇀𑆪

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.
thna	थ्न	𑆡𑇀𑆤
thya	थ्य	𑆡𑇀𑆪
dga	द्ग	𑆢𑇀𑆓
dgha	द्घ	𑆢𑇀𑆔
dghra	द्घ्र	𑆢𑇀𑆔𑇀𑆫
dda	द्द	𑆢𑇀𑆢
ddya	द्द्य	𑆢𑇀𑆢𑇀𑆪
ddha	द्ध	𑆢𑇀𑆣
ddhya	द्ध्य	𑆢𑇀𑆣𑇀𑆪
dna	द्न	𑆢𑇀𑆤
dba	द्ब	𑆢𑇀𑆧
dbha	द्भ	𑆢𑇀𑆨
dbhya	द्भ्य	𑆢𑇀𑆨𑇀𑆪
dma	द्म	𑆢𑇀𑆩
dya	द्य	𑆢𑇀𑆪
dra	द्र	𑆢𑇀𑆫
drya	द्र्य	𑆢𑇀𑆫𑇀𑆪
dva	द्व	𑆢𑇀𑆮
dvya	द्व्य	𑆢𑇀𑆮𑇀𑆪
dhna	ध्न	𑆣𑇀𑆤
dhnya	ध्न्य	𑆣𑇀𑆤𑇀𑆪
dhma	ध्म	𑆣𑇀𑆩
dhya	ध्य	𑆣𑇀𑆪
dhra	ध्र	𑆣𑇀𑆫
dhrya	ध्र्य	𑆣𑇀𑆫𑇀𑆪
dhva	ध्व	𑆣𑇀𑆮

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.
nka	न्क	𑆤𑇀𑆑
nta	न्त	𑆤𑇀𑆠
ntya	न्त्य	𑆤𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆪
ntra	न्त्र	𑆤𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆫
ntha	न्थ	𑆤𑇀𑆡
nda	न्द	𑆤𑇀𑆢
ndra	न्द्र	𑆤𑇀𑆢𑇀𑆫
ndha	न्ध	𑆤𑇀𑆣
ndhra	न्ध्र	𑆤𑇀𑆣𑇀𑆫
nna	न्न	𑆤𑇀𑆤
npa	न्प	𑆤𑇀𑆥
npra	न्प्र	𑆤𑇀𑆥𑇀𑆫
npha	न्फ	𑆤𑇀𑆦
nma	न्म	𑆤𑇀𑆩
nya	न्य	𑆤𑇀𑆪
nra	न्र	𑆤𑇀𑆫
nṣa	न्ष	𑆤𑇀𑆰
nsa	न्स	𑆤𑇀𑆱
pta	प्त	𑆥𑇀𑆠
ptya	प्त्य	𑆥𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆪
pna	प्न	𑆥𑇀𑆤
ppa	प्प	𑆥𑇀𑆥
pma	प्म	𑆥𑇀𑆩
pya	प्य	𑆥𑇀𑆪
pra	प्र	𑆥𑇀𑆫
pla	प्ल	𑆥𑇀𑆬

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.
pva	प्व	𑆥𑇀𑆮
psa	प्स	𑆥𑇀𑆱
psva	प्स्व	𑆥𑇀𑆱𑇀𑆮
bgha	ब्घ	𑆧𑇀𑆔
bja	ब्ज	𑆧𑇀𑆘
bda	ब्द	𑆧𑇀𑆢
bdha	ब्ध	𑆧𑇀𑆣
bna	ब्न	𑆧𑇀𑆤
bba	ब्ब	𑆧𑇀𑆧
bbha	ब्भ	𑆧𑇀𑆨
bbhya	ब्भ्य	𑆧𑇀𑆨𑇀𑆪
bya	ब्य	𑆧𑇀𑆪
bra	ब्र	𑆧𑇀𑆫
bva	ब्व	𑆧𑇀𑆮
bhna	भ्न	𑆨𑇀𑆤
bhya	भ्य	𑆨𑇀𑆪
bhra	भ्र	𑆨𑇀𑆫
bhva	भ्व	𑆨𑇀𑆮
mna	म्न	𑆩𑇀𑆤
mpa	म्प	𑆩𑇀𑆥
mpra	म्प्र	𑆩𑇀𑆥𑇀𑆫
mba	म्ब	𑆩𑇀𑆧
mbha	म्भ	𑆩𑇀𑆨
mma	म्म	𑆩𑇀𑆩
mya	म्य	𑆩𑇀𑆪

Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.	Roman.	Nāgarī.	Śāradā.
mra	म्र	𑆩𑇀𑆫	*rbha*	र्भ	𑆫𑇀𑆨	*śra*	श्र	𑆯𑇀𑆫
mla	म्ल	𑆩𑇀𑆬	*rma*	र्म	𑆫𑇀𑆩	*śrya*	श्र्य	𑆯𑇀𑆫𑇀𑆪
mva	म्व	𑆩𑇀𑆮	*rya*	र्य	𑆫𑇀𑆪	*śla*	श्ल	𑆯𑇀𑆬
			rla	र्ल	𑆫𑇀𑆬	*śva*	श्व	𑆯𑇀𑆮
yya	य्य	𑆪𑇀𑆪	*rva*	र्व	𑆫𑇀𑆮	*śvya*	श्व्य	𑆯𑇀𑆮𑇀𑆪
yva	य्व	𑆪𑇀𑆮	*rśa*	र्श	𑆫𑇀𑆯	*śśa*	श्श	𑆯𑇀𑆯
			rṣa	र्ष	𑆫𑇀𑆰	*ṣṭa*	ष्ट	𑆰𑇀𑆛
rr̥	र्ऋ	𑆫𑇀𑆉	*rsa*	र्स	𑆫𑇀𑆱	*ṣṭya*	ष्ट्य	𑆰𑇀𑆛𑇀𑆪
rka	र्क	𑆫𑇀𑆑	*rha*	र्ह	𑆫𑇀𑆲	*ṣṭra*	ष्ट्र	𑆰𑇀𑆛𑇀𑆫
rkha	र्ख	𑆫𑇀𑆒	*lka*	ल्क	𑆬𑇀𑆑	*ṣṭrya*	ष्ट्र्य	𑆰𑇀𑆛𑇀𑆫𑇀𑆪
rga	र्ग	𑆫𑇀𑆓	*lpa*	ल्प	𑆬𑇀𑆥	*ṣṭva*	ष्ट्व	𑆰𑇀𑆛𑇀𑆮
rgha	र्घ	𑆫𑇀𑆔	*lpha*	ल्फ	𑆬𑇀𑆦	*ṣṭvā*	ष्ट्वा	𑆰𑇀𑆛𑇀𑆮𑆳
rca	र्च	𑆫𑇀𑆖	*lma*	ल्म	𑆬𑇀𑆩	*ṣṭh*	ष्ठ	𑆰𑇀𑆜
rcha	र्छ	𑆫𑇀𑆗	*lya*	ल्य	𑆬𑇀𑆪	*ṣṭhā*	ष्ठा	𑆰𑇀𑆜𑆳
rja	र्ज	𑆫𑇀𑆘	*lra*	ल्र	𑆬𑇀𑆫	*ṣṇa*	ष्ण	𑆰𑇀𑆟
rṭa	र्ट	𑆫𑇀𑆛	*lla*	ल्ल	𑆬𑇀𑆬	*ṣṇya*	ष्ण्य	𑆰𑇀𑆟𑇀𑆪
rṭha	र्ठ	𑆫𑇀𑆜	*lva*	ल्व	𑆬𑇀𑆮	*ṣpa*	ष्प	𑆰𑇀𑆥
rḍa	र्ड	𑆫𑇀𑆝				*ṣpra*	ष्प्र	𑆰𑇀𑆥𑇀𑆫
rḍha	र्ढ	𑆫𑇀𑆞	*vna*	व्न	𑆮𑇀𑆤	*ṣpha*	ष्फ	𑆰𑇀𑆦
rṇa	र्ण	𑆫𑇀𑆟	*vya*	व्य	𑆮𑇀𑆪	*ṣma*	ष्म	𑆰𑇀𑆩
rta	र्त	𑆫𑇀𑆠	*vra*	व्र	𑆮𑇀𑆫	*ṣya*	ष्य	𑆰𑇀𑆪
rtha	र्थ	𑆫𑇀𑆡	*vva*	व्व	𑆮𑇀𑆮	*ṣva*	ष्व	𑆰𑇀𑆮
rda	र्द	𑆫𑇀𑆢						
rdha	र्ध	𑆫𑇀𑆣	*śca*	श्च	𑆯𑇀𑆖	*ska*	स्क	𑆱𑇀𑆑
rpa	र्प	𑆫𑇀𑆥	*ścya*	श्च्य	𑆯𑇀𑆖𑇀𑆪	*skha*	स्ख	𑆱𑇀𑆒
rpha	र्फ	𑆫𑇀𑆦	*śna*	श्न	𑆯𑇀𑆤	*sta*	स्त	𑆱𑇀𑆠
rba	र्ब	𑆫𑇀𑆧	*śya*	श्य	𑆯𑇀𑆪	*stya*	स्त्य	𑆱𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆪
stra	स्त्र	𑆱𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆫	*sma*	स्म	𑆱𑇀𑆩	*hṇa*	ह्ण	𑆲𑇀𑆟
stva	स्त्व	𑆱𑇀𑆠𑇀𑆮	*smya*	स्म्य	𑆱𑇀𑆩𑇀𑆪	*hna*	ह्न	𑆲𑇀𑆤
stha	स्थ	𑆱𑇀𑆡	*sya*	स्य	𑆱𑇀𑆪	*hma*	ह्म	𑆲𑇀𑆩
sna	स्न	𑆱𑇀𑆤	*sra*	स्र	𑆱𑇀𑆫	*hya*	ह्य	𑆲𑇀𑆪
snya	स्न्य	𑆱𑇀𑆤𑇀𑆪	*sva*	स्व	𑆱𑇀𑆮	*hra*	ह्र	𑆲𑇀𑆫
spa	स्प	𑆱𑇀𑆥	*ssa*	स्स	𑆱𑇀𑆱	*hla*	ह्ल	𑆲𑇀𑆬
spha	स्फ	𑆱𑇀𑆦	*sha*	स्ह	𑆱𑇀𑆲	*hva*	ह्व	𑆲𑇀𑆮

1.8.2.5. Numerals in the Shāradā script.

Roman	Devanāgarī	Shāradā
1	१	𑇑
2	२	𑇒
3	३	𑇓
4	४	𑇔
5	५	𑇕
6	६	𑇖
7	७	𑇗
8	८	𑇘
9	९	𑇙
10	१०	𑇑𑇐
11	११	𑇑𑇑
20	२०	𑇒𑇐
30	३०	𑇓𑇐
100	१००	𑇑𑇐𑇐
1000	१०००	𑇑𑇐𑇐𑇐

1.8.3. Devanāgarī

This script is used by the Kashmiri Hindu community alternately with other scripts. The earlier users of this script, such as Anand Koul (Bamzai), Zinda Koul ("Masterji") and S. K. Toshakhani devised a system of diacritic marks for the typical Kashmiri sounds. A number of Kashmiri texts, both poetry and prose, is available in this script.

1.8.4. Perso-Arabic

This script cuts across the two main religious communities; it is used both by the Pandit and the Muslim communities. After 1947 it has also been recognized as the official script for Kashmiri by the Jammu and Kashmir government. The introduction of this script initially created many typographical and pedagogical problems. In recent years it has gone through many reforms in order to adapt it to the Kashmiri language and it is now widely used.

1.8.5. Roman

There is a long tradition of the use of the Roman script for Kashmiri. The tradition was perhaps started by the missionaries and indologists. Zinda Koul and J. L. Koul also made successful use of this script in some of their publications. It seems that the claim generally made by some scholars about the practical value of the Roman script for Kashmiri is not without substance.

1.9. Literary Tradition

It is not our aim to discuss the history of Kashmiri literature here. It should, however, briefly be mentioned that out of the Dardic group of languages Kashmiri is the only language which has a long literary tradition. It is claimed that the earliest literary text of Kashmiri was written between 1200 and 1500 A.D. The tradition of literary activity was not continuous and there have been long periods of insignificant or no literary output. Sitikānta Āchāryas' *Mahānaya-Prakāsha*, a work of *Tantric* worship, is considered the first extant manuscript written in the Shāradā script. *Chumma-Sampradāya*, a text of seventy-four verses belongs to the same period. Grierson thinks that *Mahānaya-Prakāsha* was written in the fifteenth century, but Chatterji and Pushp [71] believe that it was composed around the thirteenth century.

The history of Kashmiri literature may be divided into the following periods:

Early Period (up to 1500 A.D.)
Early Middle Period (1500 to 1800 A.D.))
Late Middle Period (up to 1900 A.D.)
Modern Period (1900-1946)
Contemporary Period (1947-   ).

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34. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, _Languages and Literatures of Modern India_ (Calcutta, 1963), p. 256.

35. See reference in op. cit., fn. 33.

36. Ibid., p. 257.

37. Ibid., p. 257.

38. Ibid. Grierson also shows how, like other Piśācha languages, Kashmiri "often shows changes peculiar to Eranian, especially East Eranian, languages, and which are not found, or are rare in India." Ibid., p. 262. A detailed discussion on the Piśācha languages is given in the following: G. A. Grierson, *The Piśāca Languages of North-Western India*, Asiatic Society Monograph, VIII (London, 1906); "Paiśācī, Piśācas, and Modern Piśāca," *ZDMG*, LXVI (1912); "Dardic or Piśāch'a Languages" in *The Linguistic Survey of India*, VIII, Part II (Calcutta, 1919); Sten Konow, "The Home of Paiśācī," *ZDMG*, LXIV (1910).

39. Op. cit., fn. 33, p. 259.

40. Ibid., p. 259.

41. Ibid., p. 267.

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43. See G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India, Specimens of the Dardic or Piśācha Languages* (including Kashmiri), VIII, Part II (1919), pp. 1 ff.

44. Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46. Sten Konow, "The Home of Paiśācī," *ZDMG*, LXIV (1910).

47. Op. cit., fn. 43, p. 6.

48. Ibid., p. 1.

49. Ibid., "Introduction," pp. 1-10.

50. Note, for example, G. Morgenstierne in "Some Features of Khowar Morphology," *NTS*, XIV (1947), p. 6.

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52. Op. cit., fn. 50.

53. Ibid.

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55. See Muhammad Shuja Namus, "The Origin of Shina Language," *Pakistani Linguistics* (1962), (Lahore, 1963).

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59. Cf. *The Census of India, 1961* (Delhi, 1964), pp. CCii and CCiii. Note that the Census Report makes it clear that "... the Kafir and Khowar groups of speakers have their main concentration outside the Indian territory..."

60. Op. cit., fn. 1, p. CCxxxiv.

61. Grierson, op. cit., fn. 24, p. 233.

62. Ibid., p. 402.

63. Ibid., p. 433.

64. The distinction between the *Hindu Kashmiri* and *Muslim Kashmiri* is a traditional one and is maintained by Grierson and later scholars such as Zinda Koul ("Masterji") and others.

65. *triy* is fast dying out in modern Kashmiri.

66. See George Grierson, "On the Sarada Alphabet," *JRAS* (1916), XVII, pp. 677-708.

67. W. J. Elmslie, A Vocabulary of The Kashmiri Language (London, 1872).

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69. Note that in spoken Kashmiri the voiced aspirates are not distinctive, but following the tradition of Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. Hindi-Urdu) there are symbols for such sounds in the Shāradā script.

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2. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

2. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

2.0. Segmental Phonemes

2.1. Consonant Inventory

The consonant phonemes of Kashmiri may be grouped in the following manner:

1.	Stops	12
2.	Affricates	5
3.	Nasals	2
4.	Fricatives	4
5.	Lateral	1
6.	Trill	1
7.	Glides	2

The total number of consonant phonemes is twenty-seven.

2.1.1. Description of Consonant Phonemes

a. *Stops*. The stops are of the following types:

1. Voiceless unaspirated /p t ṭ k/
2. Voiceless aspirated /ph th ṭh kh/
3. Voiced unaspirated /b d ḍ g/

The stops occur at the following places of articulation:

bilabial /p ph b/; *dental* /t th d/; *retroflex* /ṭ ṭh ḍ/;
velar /k kh g/

b. *Affricates*. The affricates are of three types:

1. Voiceless unaspirated /ts č/
2. Voiceless aspirated /tsh čh/
3. Voiced unaspirated /ǰ/

These occur at the following places:

alveolar /ts tsh/; *palato-alveolar* /čh j/

c. Nasals. There are two nasals, i.e.,

bilabial /m/ and alveolar /n/

d. Fricatives. The fricatives are of two types:

1. Voiceless /s š h/

2. Voiced /z/

These occur at the following places:

alveolar /s z/; palato-alveolar /š/; glottal /h/

e. Lateral. The lateral occurs at the alveolar position only, i.e., /l/

f. Trill. There is one trill which occurs at alveolar position, i.e., /r/

g. Glides. The glides are produced in labio-dental and palatal positions, i.e., /v y/

2.1.2. Phonetic Specifications of Consonant Contrasts

1. /p/ /ph/ and /b/ are labial stops.

/p/ is an unaspirated bilabial stop, e.g.,
/pakh/ 'you walk' (imp.); /a:par/ 'you feed';
/top/ 'hair on the head of a person'.

/ph/ is an aspirated stop and occurs in all positions, e.g.,
/phot/ 'a large basket'; /naphar/ 'a fellow';
/lã:ph/ 'a single big step'.

/b/ is a voiced unaspirated stop, e.g.,
/bo:y/ 'brother'; /gobur/ 'a son'; /dab/ 'a fall'.

2. /t̪/ /th/ and /d/ are dental stops.

/t/ is voiceless and unaspirated, e.g.,

/təts/ 'hot' (fem); /pətul/ 'an idol'; /mot/ 'a mad person' (mas.).

/th/ is voiceless, aspirated, e.g.,

/tha:l/ 'a big metal eating dish'; /vəthɨr/ 'a leaf'; /vath/ 'road'.

/d/ is voiced, unaspirated, e.g.,

/dã:d/ 'a bull'; /tsa:dar/ 'a blanket'; /sa:d/ 'a saint'.

3. /ṭ/ /ṭh/ and /ḍ/ are retroflex stops.

/ṭ/ is an unaspirated retroflex stop, e.g.,

/ṭo:ṭh/ 'dear'; /tsaṭun/ 'to cut'; /loṭ/ 'a tail' (mas.)

/ṭh/ is an aspirated retroflex stop, e.g.,

/ṭhanɨ/ 'a lid'; /s'ṭha:/ 'much'

/kaṭh/ 'ram'.

/ḍ/ is a voiced unaspirated stop, e.g.,

/ḍö:ṭh/ 'hail' /kaḍun/ 'to take out'; /khɔḍ/ 'a ditch'.

4. /k/ /kh/ and /g/ are velar stops.

/k/ is an aspirated velar stop, e.g.,

/kas/ 'to whom?'; /kɔkɨr/ 'a hen'; /tsok/ 'sour'.

/kh/ is an aspirated velar stop, e.g.,

/khas/ 'you come (go) up' (imp.); /akhah/ 'one' (indefinitizer); /šra:kh/ 'a sword'.

/g/ is an unaspirated velar stop, e.g.,

/ga:ḍ/ 'fish'; /ga:gɨr/ 'a metal pitcher';

/lang/ 'thigh'.

5. /ts/ and /tsh/ are dental affricates.

/ts/ is unaspirated, e.g.,

/tsa:s/ 'cough'; /patsun/ 'to trust';

/kəts/ 'how many?'.

/tsh/ is an aspirated dental affricate, e.g.,

/tshā:th/ 'swimming'; /gatshun/ 'to go';

/kotsh/ 'a bribe'.

6. /č/ and /čh/ and /ǰ/ are palato-alveolar affricates.

/č/ is a palatal unaspirated affricate, e.g.,

/čo:r/ 'a stupid person'; /nečuv/ 'a son';

/təč/ 'a lavatory'.

/čh/ is an aspirated palatal affricate, e.g.,

/čhakun/ 'to throw'; /vučhun/ 'to see'; /məčh/ 'a fly'.

/ǰ/ is an unaspirated voiced palatal stop, e.g.,

/ǰa:y/ 'place'; /paǰi/ 'big willow baskets';

/gəǰ/ 'the mouth of a traditional oven'.

7. /m/ and /n/ are nasals.

/m/ is a bilabial nasal, e.g.,

/ma:m/ 'maternal uncle'; /kaman/ 'to whom?';

/da:m/ 'a gulp'.

/n/ is an alveolar nasal, e.g.,

/nas/ 'nose'; /panin'/ 'one's own'; /pa:n/ 'body'.

8. /s/ and /z/ are alveolar fricatives.

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative, e.g.,
/so:n/ 'our'; /lo:sun/ 'to set or slowly disappear';
/pos/ 'foam'.

/z/ is a voiced alveolar fricative, e.g.,
/za:m/ 'husband's sister'; /buzun/ 'to roast'; /raz/ 'rope'.

9. /š/ is a palato-alveolar fricative.
/ša:l/ 'a jackal'; /kəši:r/ 'Kashmir'; /paš/ 'roof'.

10. /h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative, e.g.,
/hos/ 'an elephant'; /pə(h)ər/ 'a hut'; /reh/ 'flame'.

11. /l/ is an alveolar lateral, e.g.,
/lam/ 'you pull' (imp.); /alun/ 'to move'; /kol/ 'a stream'.

12. /r/ is an alveolar trill, e.g.,
/raṭun/ 'to hold'; /varukh/ 'a page'; /bar/ 'door'.

13. /v/ and /y/ are glides.

/v/ is a labio-dental frictionless glide, e.g.,
/vasun/ 'to go (come) down'; /trakh/ 'a measure, roughly equivalent to five kilograms'; /g'av/ 'ghee' (clarified butter).

/y/ is a palatal glide, e.g.,
/yaḍ/ 'belly'; /diyun/ 'to sulk'; /ma:y/ 'affection'.

2.2. Palatalization

All the consonant phonemes of Kashmiri except the following may be palatalized:

i) the palatal affricates /č ǰ/

ii) the palatal fricatives /š/

iii) the palatal glide /y/

Thus there is a contrast between non-palatized and palatalized consonants.

2.2.1. Palatal vs. Non-palatal Contrasts

/p/	/p'an/ '(they) will fall'; /pan/ 'thread'; /ap'ar/ 'flippancy'; /a:par/ 'feed (me or him etc.), (imp.); /tsɔ:p'/ 'chewed' (mas. plu.); /tsə:p/ 'chewed' (fem. sing.).
/ph/	/ph'amb/ 'panting'; /phamb/ 'cotton'; /phaph'ar/ 'stammer' (noun); /ph'aphar/ 'boils'; /phɔph'/ 'stammerers' (plu.); /phoph/ 'a stammerer' (sing.).
/b/	/b'a:kh/ 'another person'; /ba:kh/ 'loud cry'; /gob'ar/ 'heaviness'; /gɔbar/ 'sons'; /kob'/ 'hunchbacked' (mas. plu.); /kob/ 'hunchbacked' (sing.).
/t/	/t'al/ 'a piece'; /tal/ 'you fry' (imp.); /kat'an/ 'where?'; /katan/ 'they will spin'; /kɛt'/ 'spun' (mas. plu.); /kət/ 'spun' (fem. sing.).
/th/	/th'ol/ 'a bushel'; /thol/ '(he or they or I) scolded (him)';

/təth'/ 'to that' (emph.); /tath/ 'to that'.

/d/ /d'al/ 'bark or skin'; /dal/ 'to pound'; /bad'an/ 'to the vegetable packs'; /badan/ 'to the bad ones'.

/ṭ/ /ṭ'al (ha:vɨn')/ 'to show off'; /kaṭ'an/ 'to the boys'; /kaṭan/ 'to the sheep'; /həṭ'/ 'throats'; /həṭ/ 'a piece of wood'.

/ṭh/ /ṭh'us/ 'a purse'; /ṭhus/ 'a Pandit surname'; /ɨ:ṭh'im/ 'eighth'; /e:ṭham/ 'a Hindu fast day'; /ṭo:ṭh'/ 'dear ones' (plu.); /ṭo:ṭh/ 'dear one' (fem.).

/ḍ/ /ḍ'akɨ/ 'forehead'; /ḍakɨ/ '(I) will cover'; /baḍ'an/ 'to the big ones'; /baḍan/ '(they) will grow'; /bəḍ'/ 'big' (mas. plu.); /bəḍ/ 'big' (fem. sing.).

/k/ /k'ath/ 'in' (a receptacle);/kath/ 'story'; /ək'im/ 'first'; /okis/ 'to one'; /bək'/ 'handfuls'; /bək/ '(she) talked nonsense'.

/kh/ /kh'av/ '(we) ate'; /khav/ 'a ditch'; /khɨ̃:kh'/ 'those who speak with a nasal twang' (mas.); /khɨ̃:kh/ 'one who speaks with a nasal twang' (fem.).

/g/ /g'a:n/ 'knowledge'; /ga:n/ 'a procuror'; /ba:g'va:n/ 'lucky'; /ba:gva:n/ 'gardener'; /ba:g'/ 'luck'; /ba:g/ 'garden'.

/ts/	/ts'al/ 'pressure'; /tsal/ 'runaway' (imp.); /pəts'/ 'they believed'; /pəts/ 'she believed'.
/tsh/	/tsh'oṭ/ 'polluted'; /tshoṭ/ 'short'; /ətsh'/ 'delicate, fragile' (mas. plu.); /ətsh/ 'delicate' (fem. sing.).
/m/	/m'onḍ/ 'a mouthful (of solid food) ; /monḍ/ 'dull'; /a:m'an/ 'to the unbaked ones'; /a:mas/ 'to the general public'; /ə:m'/ 'unbaked' (mas. plu.); /ə:m/ 'unbaked' (fem.).
/n/	/n'u:l/ 'blue'; /nu:l/ 'mongoose'; /ma:n'o:n/ 'he (had) agreed'; /ma:no:n/ 'we will accept him'; /kun'/ 'alone' (fem. sing.); /kun/ 'alone' (mas. sing.).
/s/	/s'od/ 'straight'; /sod/ 'unsophisticated'; /as'as/ 'he will laugh (at him)'; /asas/ 'I will laugh (at him)'; /gə:s/ 'petromax ; /gə:s'/ 'slothful'.
/z/	/z'al/ 'cream of milk (or of yogurt)'; /zal/ 'urine'; /paz'an/ 'to the truthful ones' (mas. plu.); /pazan/ 'to the truthful ones' (fem. plu.); /pəz'/ 'to the truthful ones'; /pəz/ 'the truthful one' (fem. sing.).

/h/ /h'an (thavun)/ 'to teach a lesson'; /han/ 'a small place';
/pih'un/ 'to grind'; /pihan/ 'they will grind'.

/l/ /l'ad/ 'horse dung'; /lad/ 'you put on' (imp);
/bal'av/ 'he got well'; /balav/ 'we will get well';
/mə:l'/ 'fathers'; /mə:l/ 'appetite'.

/r/ /r'al/ 'a piece of cloth'; /ral/ 'you mingle (with)' (imp); /par'un/ 'a sieve'; /parun/ 'to read';
/kər'/ '(Kashmiri) bangles'; /kər/ 'a dish made of yogurt'.

/v/ /v'ath/ 'the river Vitasta'; /vath/ 'road';
/ra:vɨra:v'an/ 'he lost' (fem. plu.);
/ra:vɨra:van/ 'they will lose';
/čə:v'/ 'we had them drink'; /čə:v / 'we had her drink'.

2.3. Vowel Inventory

2.3.1. Vowel Phonemes

Kashmiri has the following vowel phonemes:

(a) two high: front and back /i/ and /u/
(b) two mid: front and back /e/ and /o/
(c) one lower mid-back: /ɔ/
(d) three central: high, mid and low /ɨ/, /ə/ and /a/

2.3.2. Phonetic Specifications of Vowel Contrasts

1. /i/ and /i:/ are high front unrounded vowels, e.g.,

/čhir/ 'goat milk'; /si:r/ 'a brick';

/vəthi/ 'he will get up'; /vəthi:/ 'you get up' (fem. imp.).

2. /ɨ/ and /ɨ:/ are high central unrounded vowels, e.g.,

   /tɨr/ 'a piece of rag'; /bɨ/ 'I'; /tɨ:r/ 'cold'.

3. /ə/ and /ə:/ are mid central unrounded vowels, e.g.,

   /tər/ 'she crossed'; /ər/ 'in good condition' (fem.);

   /tə:r/ 'delay'; /ə:r/ 'plum'.

4. /a/ and /a:/ are low central vowels, e.g.,

   /bar/ 'door'; /ba:r/ 'weight'; /a:r/ 'pity'.

5. /u/ and /u:/ are high back rounded vowels, e.g.,

   /kun/ 'all alone'; /su/ 'he'; /ku:n/ 'a corner'.

6. /o/ and /o:/ are mid back rounded vowels, e.g.,

   /son/ 'deep'; /so:n/ 'our'; /ho:/ 'yes' (in response to a call), (mas.); /hol/ 'crooked'; /o:l/ 'a nest'.

7. /ɔ/ and /ɔ:/ are low back rounded vowels, e.g.,

   /sɔd/ 'a simple person'; /sɔ:d/ 'one and a quarter'.

2.3.3. Vowel Length

See sub-section 2.3.2. for contrasts between short and long vowels.

2.3.4. Nasalization

The following nasalized long vowels contrast with non-nasalized long vowels.

2.3.5. Nasal vs. Non-nasal Contrasts: Long Vowels

1. /i:/ and /ĩ:/

   /ri:th/ 'tradition'; /rĩ:ṭh/ 'an incessant cry'.

2. /e:/ and /ẽ:/

   /še:kh/ 'a Muslim surname'; /šẽ:kh/ 'a conch'.

3. /ə:/ and /ə̃:/

   /ṭə:ṭh/ 'dear' (fem.); /ṭə̃:ṭh/ 'thick or viscous substance';

   /ə:ṭh/ 'eight'; /ə̃:ṭ(h)/ 'the stone of a fruit'.

4. /u:/ and /ũ:/

   /pu:ṭh/ 'strong'; /vũ:ṭh/ 'a camel'.

5. /o:/ and /õ:/

   /čo:ṭh/ 'a bruise'; /čõ:ṭh/ 'mouth';

   /vo:t/ '(he) arrived'; /võ:t/ 'depth'.

2.3.51. Nasalized Short Vowels

The following short vowels are nasalized:

1. /e/ and /ẽ/

   /s'eh/ 'shame, humiliation'; /kẽh/ 'some'.

2. /o/ and /õ/

   /god/ 'a hole'; /gõd/ 'a bouquet'.

3. /ə/ and /ə̃/

   /pəz/ 'truthful' (fem.); /pə̃z/ 'monkey' (fem.).

2.4. Allophony

2.4.1. Consonant Allophones

1. In medial position /ph/ and [f] are in free-variation in educated Hindu and Muslim speech. This applies only to Persian, Arabic, and English loan words, e.g., phəki:r and fak:ir 'a beggar'.

2. [ṣ] may be interpreted as an /s + r/ cluster. The combination of these two phonemes and the initial cluster of c + r is possible in the language. [ṣ] occurs in initial position only, e.g., [ṣra:kh] 'a sword'; [ṣrɔng] 'a cave'; [ṣra:n] 'a bath'.

3. In the final position all plosives are pronounced with a sudden release; they sound like ejectives.

4. The contrast between aspirated and unaspirated phonemes in final position is not clear.

5. /ḍ/ and [ṛ] are intervocally and finally in free variation. By and large, [ṛ] is used by both Muslims and Hindus in village Kashmiri, while in Srinagar it is found only in the speech of some Muslims.

6. All consonants are labialized when followed by a high back vowel, e.g., /gur/ [g^Wur] 'horse';/khɔr/ [kh^Wɔr] 'feet'.

7. A consonant preceded by a high or mid front vowel is slightly palatalized, e.g., /phi:r/ 'she walked'; /zi:n/ 'saddle'.

8. In the medial position some consonants are longer when followed by front vowels, e.g., /tshoṭin'/ 'a short woman'; /təlin/ 'let him fry'.

9. /h/ is voiced only in intervocalic position. Some speakers, however, may voice it in the initial position also, e.g., /hər/ 'quarrel'; /təhər/ 'yellow rice'; /pah/ 'manure'.

2.4.2. Nasals

1. At the phonetic level the following nasals occur in Kashmiri: [m n n' ŋ]. However, at the phonological level these may be reduced to /m n/. [ŋ] occurs only before homorganic stops in medial and final positions, e.g., [baŋgi] 'Indian hemp'; [šɑŋgun] 'to sleep'. [ŋ] may be treated as an allophone of /n/ before velar stops.

2. Palatal nasal may be treated as a combination of n + palatalization. This seems desirable since all the consonant phonemes contrast with palatalized consonants.

3. If a nasal is followed by a retroflex stop it is retroflexed, e.g., /mənḍ/ 'a widow'; /tsha:nḍun/ 'to search'.

2.4.3. Vowel Allophones

1. A vowel followed by /y/ glide results in dipthongization, e.g., /soy/ 'nettle'.

2. In initial position /i/ and /i:/ are in free variation with /yi/ and /yi:/. For example, insa:n ~ yinsa:n 'man'; i:d ~ yi:d 'Muslim festival'; idire:r ~ yidira:r 'urine'; imtiha:n ~ yimtihan 'examination'. /i/ and /i:/ are found in the initial position mostly in the speech of educated Kashmiri speakers.

3. The central vowels are produced towards the back and are completely unrounded. The degree of 'centralness' is determined by the phonetic environment.

4. The central vowels are tense.

5. The unrounded midfront /e/ has two allophones, i.e., (i) [ɛ] when it is preceded or followed by a palatal consonant, and (ii) a higher allophone elsewhere.

6. /e:/ always remains high, e.g., /ne:run/ 'to go'; /te:z/ 'sharp'; /saphe:d/ 'white'.

7. There is a glide after every long vowel.

8. A vowel is nasalized when followed by a nasal consonant.

2.5. Mātrā-Vowels

In some earlier studies on Kashmiri, attention has been drawn to the phenomenon termed by Grierson *mātrā vowels*.[1] They have been presented as a 'mysterious' entity. Consider, for example, the following observation of Bailey:

"Anyone seeing Kashmiri (kaśmiri) written in Roman letters and noticing the numerous tiny vowels written above the line must wonder what they are and how they are pronounced, and must be bewildered to be told that many of them are inaudible to non-Kashmiri ears. *It reminds us of the high-pitched musical notes which scientists tell us human ears cannot hear, though cats' ears can*. (My italics)."[2]

Bailey sets up six mātra-vowels which correspond to: a, e, i, o, u, and ə or 3. He further states that a, e, o, occur always, and ə sometimes, in medial position. They are pronounced like ə, e, u, and e, respectively, but when they merely join two syllables they are often omitted, as in 3drun 'to be moist', where an a- matra vowel comes between the d and the r, but is not sounded.

In his paper on "The Phonology of Kashmiri," Morgenstierne observes:

"According to all European observers final ^{u} and $^{\ddot{u}}$ mātrā are inaudible, especially in Srinagar, while the ^{i} mātrā is sounded like a very short i. The main function of these mātrā-vowels is the affection of a preceding vowel..."[3]

Morgenstierne tries to find a historical explanation, and says that historically

"...the mātrā vowels must have been different vowel phonemes -u, -i, -u. At that time, present -i and -u were probably long, as is still sometimes the case in poetry. Modern ū is very rare. -ī occurs chiefly in loan-words from Prs. [Persian]. Such words may have been introduced after the shortening of older -i, ü. There is therefore no need to assume that there has at any given time existed a series of three different qualities in final syllables: ^{i} i ī: and $^{\bar{u}}$ u ū."[4]

It seems to me that in Kashmiri a CC combination in initial and final positions involves a vocalic release or a glide. The nature of the glide is determined by the environment. Perhaps it is this glide which has been given the status of a mātrā-vowel in some earlier analyses. At this point it is difficult to say anything significant about its grammatical and/or phonological status.

2.6. Consonant Clusters: Specifications

2.6.1. Combination of Consonant Phonemes

By a *cluster* is meant a combination of two or more consonant phonemes. An initial cluster is one which immediately follows juncture, and a final cluster is one which immediately precedes juncture.

2.6.2. Vocalic Release in Consonant Clusters

In initial and final positions the segments of a *C* and *C* combination have a vocalic release, especially in slow speech and citation forms. In rapid speech the vocalic release either disappears, or it is not marked. Siddheshwar Varma observes that "a consonant cluster at the end of a syllable (CC) is unknown to Kashmiri..." It seems that such clusters are possible but their distribution is restricted. Note that /b t d ḍ g r z/ may occur as second elements of a *CC* structure. Consider the following examples:

/tshəmb/ 'a trick'; /amb/ 'a mango'; /ṭang/ 'pears';
/sənɨmarg/ 'a place name'; /ba:nḍ/ 'a minstrel';
/tihund/ 'their'; /ponz/ 'a monkey';
/khɨnz/ 'scratch' (imp.); /khrɨ:ts/ 'a mouse';

Note that /g/ occurs after /r/ and /n/ and /b d z/ occur only after nasals.

2.6.3. Clusters with Three Elements

There is a very restricted number of clusters with three members in Kashmiri and these occur only intervocalically: -ngs-, -mphr-, -ngt-, -ndn-, -ndr- as in:

sangsa:r '(the act of) throwing stones';

ǰhomphri 'huts made of grass';

pangti 'large groups'; *tshandni* 'to search for';

ǝndram 'intestines'.

2.7. Syllable Structure

A syllable comprises the following elements:

1.	V	/a:/ 'yes'
	CVV	/hua/ 'that' (fem. sing.)
	CCV	/tre/ 'three'
2.	VC	/as/ '(you) laugh' (imp.)
	CVC	/lob/ 'found'
	CCVC	/šru:ts/ 'pure'
3.	VCC	/amb/ 'a mango'
	CVCC	/šankh/ 'a horn'
	CCVCC	/tript/ 'satisfied'

The syllable structures listed above may function as constituent syllables for forming polysyllabic words. A cluster of more than three consonants is not possible (see 2.6.3.). In slow speech even three consonants are not frequent.

There are no geminates in Kashmiri.

2.7.1. Syllable Nucleus

The nucleus of a syllable may be a V or V:.

2.7.2. Syllable Interlude

The interlude of a syllable consists of a consonant of the following types: (a) two consonants, or (b) three consonants (only in fast conversational style).

2.7.3. Functional Load of Syllable Structure

The monosyllabic words have the highest frequency and the frequency decreases as the number of syllables increases.

2.8. Stress

In Kashmiri the role of stress is the same as in the Indo-Aryan languages which surround the Kashmiri speaking area. All these languages, including Kashmiri, are syllable-timed and the role of stress in these languages is not the same as in stress-timed languages such as English. Stress is mainly used for emphasis. Consider, for example, the following:

tsɨ kot gatshak? 'Where will you go?'

In this sentence any lexical item may be stressed according to the context and emphasis.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See G. A. Grierson, A Manual of Kashmiri Language. (Oxford, 1911).

2. T. Grahame Bailey, "The Four-fold Consonant System in Kashmiri," Proceedings of the 2nd Congress of Phonetic Sciences. (London, 1935).

3. Georg Morgenstierne, "The Phonology of Kashmiri," AO, XIX, 1 (1941).

4. Ibid., p. 89.

3. WORD-FORMATION

3. WORD-FORMATION

3.1. Introduction

A Kashmiri word may occur in its base form (e.g., *šur* 'a child') or it may be accompanied by various affixes (e.g., *šuril* 'childishness'). On the basis of co-occurrence restrictions between stems and affixes, the stems can be divided into various sub-classes.

3.1.1. Classes of Stems

1. Nominal

   A nominal stem may occur independently or it may co-occur with the class of nominal affixes, e.g., *tsoṭ* 'bread'.

2. Verbal

   A verbal stem may occur in isolation in the verb position or it may co-occur with verbal affixes, e.g., *ni* 'take' (imp.).

3. Particles

   Particles are those items which are not inflected and which convey structural relationships (see 4.6.).

3.2. Word-Forming Devices

The main devices for word-formation in Kashmiri are the following:

Affixation (see 3.2.1.)

Compounding (see 3.2.2)

Reduplication (see 3.2.3)

3.2.1. Affixation

There are two types of affix morphemes, suffixes and prefixes.

The class of suffix morphemes follows a stem, e.g., the adjectival suffix *al* in *da:r'al* 'a bearded person'. The class of prefix morphemes precedes the stem, e.g., *kɔ* 'bad' in *kɔpu:t* 'a bad son'.

3.2.2. Compounding

3.2.2.1. Structure of Compounds

By a compound we mean a combination of two or more free forms which are reductions of a particular syntactic construction underlying a compound form. Consider the following:

1.	*və:n' ku:r*	1a.	*sɔnɨ ku:r*
	'grocer' 'of' 'daughter'		'gold' 'of' 'girl'
	'daughter of a grocer'		'a girl good as gold'
2.	*vatɨ kharɨč*	2a.	*phəzu:l kharɨč*
	'road' 'of' 'expense'		'unnecessary' 'expenses'
	'travel expense'		'a spendthrift'
3.	*ka:mi tsu:r*	3a	*tha:lɨ tsu:r*
	'w^rk' 'of' 'thief'		'(eating) plates' 'of' 'thief'
	'one who shirks work'		'a thief of dinner plates'

It is apparent that though the above pairs of formations appear to be similar in their surface structure they are understood differently. For example, *və:n' ku:r* is understood as *və:n'sɨnz ku:r* 'the daughter of a grocer', but *sɔnɨ ku:r* is not *sɔnɨ sɨnz ku:r* in the same sense in which *və:n' sɨnz ku:r* is. Note that in *sɔnɨ sɨnz ku:r* the implication of 'belonging to' is absent. The interpretation is *sɔ ku:r yɔsɨ sɔnas hiš čhi*. This is further to be understood as a fixed collocation meaning 'a well behaved girl'. The formation *vatɨ kharɨč* is understood as *vati khə:trɨ kharɨč* and *phəzu:l kharɨč* as *su insa:n yus phəzu:l kharɨč kara:n čhu*. *Ka:mi tsu:r* is not **ka:mi hund tsu:r* but *su yus kə:m čhunɨ yatsha:n karɨn'* 'one who shirks work'. This is entirely different from *tha:lɨ tsu:r*. It seems, therefore, a listing of compounds in terms of their constituent items is not rewarding. A syntactic analysis of compounds will be attempted in a forthcoming study.

As in the above 1a and 3, the meaning of the compounded items, in many cases, is entirely different from the lexical meaning of the items which form the compound. The following are illustrative:

dɔdɨ pra:tsɨ, *tsə̆drɨta:rukh*, *saphe:d po:š*, *sɔnɨgɔbur*

The lexical meaning of these items is as follows:

'(the) mouth of (or with) milk', '(the) moon star', '(the) white flower', '(the) golden son'.

A word-bound translation of these formations is misleading since these items are respectively understood as *young*, *head priest in a Hindu ritual*, *a poor person*, *a well-behaved boy*.

3.2.2.2. Gender and Number of Compounds

The gender and number of compounded items is determined by the head of the compound. Consider the following:

l'akɨva:tul 'one who swears'

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
l'akɨva:tul	l'akɨva:tal	l'akɨva:tɨǰ	l'akɨva:t(ɨ)ǰi

There are some formations which are not inflected for gender and number, but a modifier and/or a verb provide clues to their gender and number. Consider, for example, šur' šɔgul 'children's game' in ko:ri čha šur' šɔgul kara:n 'The girls are playing some children's games' or ra:mɨ čhu šur'sɔgul kara:n 'Ram is playing some children's games'.

3.2.2.3. Sources of Compounds

Compounds, like the lexical stock of Kashmiri, have come to the language from varied sources. The main sources have been Sanskrit and Persian (Arabic). The items of Arabic source have mainly come to Kashmiri through the Persian sources. The Persian and the Sanskrit source formations have come to Kashmiri either directly or through Hindi-Urdu.

Formations from English are very recent and are frequent mostly in educated Kashmiri. The formations such as the following have now become part of the lexicon of Kashmiri and are used by both educated and uneducated Kashmiris.

> so:da:va:ṭar 'soda water', ṭinčarayḍi:n 'tincture of iodine', ayskri:m 'ice cream', o:varko:ṭ(h) 'an overcoat or great coat', ko:ṭhpatlu:n 'jacket and pants', məni:a:ḍar 'money order'.

The borrowed formations, as is evident from the above examples, have been assimilated into the phonological and grammatical system of Kashmiri.

A partial list of compounds according to their sources is given below (see 3.2.2.3.1., 3.2.2.3.2., 3.2.2.3.3., and 3.2.2.3.4.):

3.2.2.3.1. Sanskrit Source Items

ana:tha:lay	'orphanage'
anzal	'food-water' (subsistance)
ba:giva:n	'unlucky'
do:mu:dar	'a Hindu proper name'
du:rdarši:	'a far-sighted person'
ləmbu:dar	'a Hindu proper name'
pi:ta:mbar	'a Hindu proper name'
para:di:n	'dependent'
ra:zɨr'oš	'a sage king'
sɔba:g'ivəti:	'a lucky woman'
sɔkhdɔkh	'joy (and) sorrow'
tsəndrɨ ta:rukh	'the head priest of a Hindu ritual'

3.2.2.3.2. Persian (Arabic) Source Items

badna:m	'notorious'
badniyath	'ill intentioned person'
badza:th	'a person of bad character'
darbɨdar	'a bum'
galat phəhmi:	'misunderstanding'
gə:rhə:z(i)ri:	'absence'
gə:rmunə:sib	'undesirable'
gə:rvə:ǰib	'improper'
gəri:b nava:z	'helper of the poor'
kamzo:r	'weak'
khʊdgaraz	'selfish'
khɔšba:š	'sweet talker' (also 'jolly person')
khɔš kɨsmat	'lucky'
khɔš miza:z	'sweet tempered'
khɔš nəsi:b	'fortunate'
khəri:d pharo:khɨt	'buying and selling'
na:la:yakh	'incompetent'
na:pasand	'that which is disliked'
na:samɨǰ	'one who is not mature enough'
na:vɔme:d	'disappointed person'
salah mašvarɨ	'consultation'
salah na:mɨ	'a peace treaty'
sədri riya:sath	'head of state'
zabardast	'strong'

3.2.2.3.3. Hindi-Urdu Source Items

It is difficult to separate items from the above (see 3.2.2.3.) and say whether they came into Kashmiri direct from Sanskrit or Persian sources or through Hindi-Urdu sources. Possibly many such items came directly into Sanskritized and Persianized Kashmiri. However, the impact of neighboring Dogrī, Punjabi, and Hindi-Urdu speaking areas on Kashmiri cannot be underestimated. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the following items may have come to Kashmiri through these sources:

ba:lbači	'family'
galat šalat	'wrong and the like'
ga:sphu:s	'grass, etc.'
khulam khulɨ	'openly' or 'in the open'
ṭa:lmaṭo:l	'evasion'
ṭhi:kh ṭhi:kh	'right, exact'

3.2.2.3.4. English Source Items

a:ḍarbuk	'order book'
anḍarviyar	'underwear'
ayis kri:m	'ice cream'
aḍmišan ka:ḍ	'admission card'
aplike:šan pharm	'application form'
bla:vɨz pi:s	'blouse piece'
bɨlek bo:ḍ	'blackboard'
dra:ma: kampəni:	'drama company'
dra:ying ru:m	'drawing room'
inglish dipa:ṭmenṭ	'English department'

geṣṭ havɨs	'guest house'
hend lu:m	'hand loom'
heḍ ma:šṭar	'headmaster'
ho:m ga:ḍ	'home guard'
iyar ring	'earring'
ka:phi:havɨs	'coffee house'
ko:ṭh pe:nṭ	'coat-pant'
kəmu:nist pa:rṭi:	'Communist party'
kirkaṭh me:č	'cricket match'
kala:s ru:m	'classroom
leman ju:s	'lemon juice'
leṭar bakɨs (or bəkɨs)	'mail box'
mo:ṭar sayɨkal	'motorcycle'
mo:ṭar ka:r	'automobile'
o:var ko:ṭh	'overcoat'
pe:ṭi:ko:ṭh	'petticoat'
ple:ṭ pha:ram	'platform'
pikčar havɨs	'movie theater'
pho:ntin pen	'fountain pen'
pa:var havɨs	'power house'
po:st a:phis	'post office'
phut ba:l	'foot ball'
re:ḍiyo:set	'radio set'
samar vake:šan	'summer vacation'
ste:šan ma:sṭar	'station master'
so:ḍa: va:ṭar	'soda water'

tinčar ayḍi:n	'tincture of iodine'
ṭɨyar ge:s	'tear gas'
ṭe:bɨl ṭenis	'table tennis' or 'ping pong'
ṭenis ko:ṭ	'tennis court'
ṭi: pa:rṭi:	'tea party'
tharma:mi:ṭar	'thermometer'
ṭayimpi:s	'timepiece'
va:li: ba:l	'volley ball'
vinṭar vake:šan	'winter vacation'

3.2.2.4. Hybridization in Compounding

A number of compounds involve hybridization in the sense that the constituent items belong to two different languages. Note, for example, the following:

Item A	Item B	Compound
re:l (English)	gə:d' (Hindi-Urdu)	re:l gə:d' 'train'
ṭe:bɨl (English)	kurɨs' (Hindi-Urdu)	ṭe:bɨl kurɨs' 'table and chair'
agɨn (Sanskrit)	boat (English)	agan bo:ṭ 'steamer'
ḍabal (English)	ča:y (Hindi-Urdu)	ḍabal ča:y 'tea with milk'
ḍabal (English)	tsoṭ (Kashmiri)	ḍabal tsoṭ 'loaf'
ṣ̌iṣ̌ar (Sanskrit)	gə̃:ṭh (Kashmiri)	šišargə̃:ṭh 'an icicle'
halkɨ (Urdu)	presiḍanṭ (English)	halkɨpresiḍanṭ 'president of a halkā'

3.2.2.5. Distribution of Compounds

Two observations may be made about the distribution of compounds. First, there may be semantically identical compounds which have come from two different sources and are used interchangeably. The use of one form or the other depends on the extent and the type of education the speaker has received, e.g.,

dava:th, mi:liyəndɨr	'ink pot'
po:sṭme:n, ḍa:kɨvo:l	'postman'
pa:var havɨs, biǰli:gar	'power house'
iyar ring, kanɨdu:r	'earrings'

Second, a large number of compounded items (like single lexical items, see 1.7.4.1.) are restricted in their distribution either to Sanskritized Kashmiri or to Persianized Kashmiri. For example, the following items belong only to Sanskritized Kashmiri:

ana:tha:lay, tsəndrɨta:rukh, ts'atɨpi:ḍa,
ra:zɨkaṭh, ra:zɨr'oš

A large number of proper names in Kashmiri are compounds which belong either to a Sanskrit source or to a Persian source, eg.,

na:ra:nda:s, arandəti:, ganɨra:m, gula:mḍa:r

3.2.3. Reduplication

Reduplication means the repetition of an item. The repeated item may be grammatically and/or semantically significant. Consider, for example, the following:

ši:lɨ a:yi vada:n vada:n 'Sheela came crying.'
ra:man von tsala:n tsala:n ki su yi:nɨ
'While running Ram said that he won't come.'

In Kashmiri, reduplication does not work the same way it does in Hindi-Urdu. In Hindi-Urdu the reduplicated items fall into two groups. The items belonging to the first group are not semantically differentiable. In the second group, there is no choice; the selection or non-selection of an item is semantically differentiable. Note the following:

1a. ra:m ne: ga:te: ga:te: kaha: ki ...
'Ram said while singing that ...'

1b. ra:m ne: gate: hue: kaha: ki ...
'Ram said while singing that ...'

2a. ra:m ne: čalte: čalte: kaha: ki ...
'Ram said while walking that ...'

2b. ra:m ne: čalte: hue: kaha: ki ...
'Ram said as he was leaving that ...'

There is only one interpretation for the above (1a) and (1b), but two interpretations for (2a) and (2b).

In Kashmiri, on the other hand, the choice provided by (2a) and (2b) in Hindi-Urdu is not available. The reduplicated items have two functions. First they are used to convey the idea of continuation of an act, and second to show emphasis.

3.2.3.1. Insertion of ti̠

The insertion of ti̠ between the reduplicated items is semantically significant. Note, for example, the difference between:

1. ra:mi̠ a:v kh'ava:n kh'ava:n
'Ram' 'came' 'eating' 'eating'
'Ram came eating.'

2. ra:mi̠ a:v kh'ava:n ti̠ kh'ava:n

Sentence (1) shows the process and/or emphasis while sentence (2) shows that the action was repeated and that it continued for a long time.

3.2.3.2. Types of Reduplication

The reduplication of verbs may be of two types. The first type comprises those verbal items which may be reduplicated without any change, e.g., ra:mɨ a:v vada:n vada:n 'Ram came crying'. The second type comprises those items in which the repeated item involves change. kathɨ vathɨ tra:v tɨ vɔth 'quit talking and (the) like and come.' The second type of items are also termed echo-items. A detailed discussion on these is given in 4.7.2.

Reduplication may be either optional or obligatory. Consider the following:

1. Ši:lɨ a:yi va:rɨ va:rɨ
 'Sheela came slowly.'

1a.* Ši:lɨ a:yi va:rɨ

2. ši:lɨ a:yi kho:tsa:n kho:tsa:n
 'Sheela came (or approached) with fear.'

2a.* Ši:lɨ a:yi kho:tsa:n

3. ši:lɨ čha te:z te:z paka:n
 'Sheela is walking fast.' (emphatic)

3a. ši:lɨ Čha te:z paka:n (non-emphatic)

4. kamrɨ kamrɨ vučhum magar Ši:lɨ Čhanɨ tati
 'I searched (or looked into) each and every room but Sheela is not there.'

4a. kamrɨ vučhum magar ši:lɨ čhanɨ tati

'I looked into the room but Sheela was not there.'

Reduplication is used for the following functions:

(a) to show process or manner when used with manner adverbs (see the above 1); in the case of some manner adverbs (e.g., va:rɨ va:rɨ or kho:tsa:n kho:tsa:n) reduplication is obligatory.

(b) to convey distributive sense (see, e.g., the above 4 as compared with 4a).

(c) to emphasize an item (see the above 3).

4. WORD CLASSES

4. WORD CLASSES

4.1. Nouns

4.1.1. Inflection

Nouns are inflected for number, gender and case.

4.1.2. Number

There are two numbers, i.e., singular and plural.

4.1.2.1. Pluralization

4.1.2.1.1. Formation of Feminine Plurals

The feminine plurals are formed as follows:

(a) /i/ is added to a singular noun of CVC structure and the vowel of the first syllable is lowered, e.g.,

Singular		Plural
gər	'a watch'	gari
hər	'a piece of wood'	hari
khər	'a naughty woman (or girl)'	khari
lər	'house'	lari
nər	'arm'	nari
phər	'roasted fish'	phari
tsər	'sparrow'	tsari
vər	'a particular combination of spices'	vari
zər	'a deaf woman'	zari

(b) When the vowel is long the above rule applies and the vowel remains long in the plural form too, e.g.,

Singular		Plural
də:r	'beard'	da:ri
hə:r	'bird'	ha:ri
krə:ǰ	'woman potter'	kra:ǰi
lu:r	'stick'	lo:ri
mə:ǰ	'mother'	ma:ǰi
nə:r	'earthen jug'	na:ri
və:ǰ	'a ring'	va:ǰi
və:r	'small earthen pot'	va:ri

(c) The stem vowel is lowered, the final /ṭ/ and /ḍ/ change to /č/ and /ǰ/ respectively and /i/ is added, e.g.,

Singular		Plural
həṭ	'a piece of wood'	hači
ləṭ	'tail'	lači
pɔṭ	'a plank'	pači
tsoṭ	'bread'	tsoči
vəṭ	'cob of corn'	vɑči
zəṭ	'rag'	zači
kənḍ	'crust'	kanǰi
khɔnḍ	'a part or a piece'	khanǰi
monḍ	'a kind of root vegetable'	mɔnǰi

(d) /ɨ/ is added to the singular form, e.g.,

Singular		Plural
dɔs	'wall'	dɔsɨ
ga:v	'cow'	ga:vɨ
kabɨr	'grave'	kabɨrɨ
kath	'story'	kathɨ
kita:b	'book'	kita:bɨ
le:ph	'quilt'	le:phɨ
mɔnd	'widow'	mɔndɨ
na:v	'boat'	na:vɨ
sɔn	'co-wife'	sɔnɨ
zang	'leg'	zangɨ
zɔv	'louse (insect)'	zɔvɨ

(e) Final /th/ changes to /t/ and /ɨ/ is added, e.g.,

Singular		Plural
dava:th	'ink pot'	dava:tɨ
vath	'road'	vatɨ

There are some exceptions, e.g.,

kath	'story'	kathɨ
v'ath	'a river'	v'athɨ

(f) The vowel (e.g., /i/ and /ɨ/) before the last consonant is dropped and /i/ is added to the singular form in the final position, e.g.,

Singular		Plural
əḍiǰ	'bone'	əḍǰi
gɔgɨǰ	'turnip'	gɔgǰi
patɨǰ	'a large straw mat'	patǰi
phuṭɨǰ	'package or bundle'	phuṭǰi
tsha:vɨǰ	'goat'	tsha:vǰi
latshɨǰ	'broom'	latshǰi
khɔp(h)ɨr	'hut'	khɔp(h)ri
kã:gɨr	'a Kashmiri firepot'	kã:gri
ga:gɨr	'pitcher'	ga:gri
ṭu:kɨr	'basket'	ṭu:kri

(g) /i/ is added to the singular form, e. g.,

Singular		Plural
tuǰ	'a straw'	tuǰi
muǰ	'radish'	muǰi
kuǰ	'tree'	kuǰi
la:š	'a dead body'	la:ši
mə̃:š	'she buffalo'	mə̃:ši
nɔš	'daughter-in-law'	nɔši

(i) A number of feminine nouns have the same form in the plural also. Consider, for example, the following:

Singular		Plural
əčh	'eye'	əčh
biǰli:	'electricity'	biǰli:
gaṭɨ	'darkness'	gaṭɨ
neni	'meat (mutton)'	neni

4.1.2.1.2. Formation of Masculine Plurals

The masculine plurals are formed as follows:

(a) The final consonant is palatalized and the last vowel changes to a central vowel (i.e., /u/ changes to /ɨ/ and /o/ changes to /ə/), e.g.,

Singular		Plural
b'o:l	'seed'	b'ə:l'
ga:ṭul	'a wise man'	ga:ṭɨl'
latshul	'broom'	latshɨl'
mo:l	'father'	mə:l'
phuṭul	'bundle'	phuṭɨl'
ṭaṭhul	'manger'	ṭaṭhɨl'
tsha:vul	'a he goat'	tsha:vɨl'
vo:l	'a hole'	və:l'
zo:l	'the wedge-like space between fingers'	zə:l'
hoṭ	'throat'	həṭ'
koṭ	'boy'	kəṭ'

Singular		Plural
loṭ	'tail'	ləṭ'
noṭ	'pitcher'	nəṭ'
poṭ	'warm cloth'	pəṭ'
ṭoṭ	'pony'	ṭəṭ'
votsh	'calf'	vətsh'

(b) The final consonant is palatalized, e.g.,

Singular		Plural
(ga:sɨ)tul	'blade of grass'	(ga:sɨ)tul'
gur	'horse'	gur'
khu:r	'razor'	khu:r'
kul	'tree'	kul'
mor	'chicken shed'	mor'
šur	'a child'	šur'

(c) The last vowel changes from /u/ to /a/, e.g.,

Singular		Plural
gagur	'mouse'	gagar
gobur	'son'	gobar
ha:puth	'bear'	ha:path
katsul	'a small pot'	katsal
kokur	'a cock'	kokar
ko:tur	'pigeon'	ko:tar
o:luv	'potatoes'	o:lav
potul	'idol'	potal

Singular		Plural
tsakul	'a piece'	tsakal
va:tul	'a sweeper'	va:tal
vãgun	'eggplant (brinjal)'	vãgan
za:tukh	'horoscope'	za:takh

(d) Nouns of the following types have identical forms in the singular and the plural:

1. Mass nouns, e.g.,

dɔd	'milk'
po:n'	'water'
obur	'clouds'
ru:d	'rain'

2. Parts of the body, e.g.,

dil	'heart'
gɔḍ	'ankle'
kan	'ear'
kalɨ	'head'
magɨz	'brains'
nam	'nails'
n'ɔṭh	'toe'

There are exceptions such as zang 'leg', plu. zangɨ;

3. Some borrowed nouns from English, e.g.,

ho:ṭal	'hotel'
mo:ṭar	'car'
saikal	'bicycle'
gila:sɨ	'a glass'

In addition to the above, the following also have no separate plural forms:

ɛmi:r	'a rich person'
bema:r	'a sick person'
bondu:kh	'gun'
buḍɨ	'an old man'
ba:nɨ	'utensils'
bu:th	'ghost'
dã:d	'bull'
d'al	'bark (of a tree)'
dasta:r(ɨ)	'turban'
gəri:b	'a poor man'
ga:n	'procurer'
ga:m	'village'
hɔ:z	'boatman'
ka:v	'crow'
kalam	'pen'
kra:l	'potter'
khar	'donkey'
ko:či	'lane'
koh	'mountain'
kamči	'whip'
m'avɨ	'fruit' or 'dry fruit'
mo:r	'peacock'
mo:zɨ	'socks'
mozu:r	'laborer'
ma:m	'mother's brother'

ma:z	'meat'
mɔrdɨ	'a dead person'
nalkɨ	'a tap'
obur	'clouds'
p'a:lɨ	'cup'
pal	'a heavy stone'
palav	'clothes'
po:š	'flower'
pi:r	'Muslim priest'
phəki:r	'a fakir'
sa:z	'a musical instrument'
sɨh	'lion'
šreh	'dampness'
tham	'pillar'
ti:r	'arrow'
va:l	'hair'
za:l	'net'

4.1.3. Gender

A two-way gender distinction is made in nouns.

4.1.3.1.

The following are the main processes used for forming feminines from the masculine forms:

1. Suffixation
2. Suffix change
3. Vowel and consonant change
4. Vowel change
5. Consonant change
6. Morpheme replacement

4.1.3.1.1. Suffixation

1. -en' suffix is added to masculine forms to form feminine nouns. The items which take this suffix may be grouped into the following three classes:

Class 1: Those items which involve no change in the masculine form except suffixation, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
duka:nda:r	'shopkeeper'	duka:nda:ren'
karɨzda:r	'borrower'	karɨzda:ren'
kha:nɨda:r	'master of the house'	kha:nɨda:ren'
kharɨčbarda:r	'one who keeps account of household expenses'	kharičbarda:ren'
tabarda:r	'wood-cutter'	tabarda:ren'
tha:nɨda:r	'officer-in-charge of a police station'	tha:nɨda:ren'
ṭhe:kɨda:r	'contractor'	ṭhe:kɨda:ren'

Class 2: Those items in which the vowel in the second syllable is dropped and the final consonant is palatalized before adding -en', e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
dă:dur	'vegetable seller'	dǎ:dr'en'
kă:dur	'baker'	kă:dr'en'
mozu:r	'laborer'	mozr'en'
vă:guǰ	'tanant'	vă:gǰen'

Class 3: Those items in which /u/ in the second syllable changes to /ɨ/ before -en', e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
sa:lur	'guest'	sa:lɨren'
pa:n'ur	'waterman	pa:ńiren'

Note also the form ma:m 'maternal uncle' ma:man'.

2. -in' suffix is added to the masculine nouns to form feminine nouns. There are two classes of such nouns.

Class 1: Those which involve no change in the masculine form except suffixation, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
tshoṭ	'a short-sized man'	tshoṭin'
moṭ	'a fat man'	moṭin'

Class 2: Those in which the stem vowel is changed to /ə/ before -in', e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
ka:v	'a crow'	kə:vin'
khar	'an ass'	khərin'
na:g	'spring (of water)'	nə:gin'

3. *-ba:y* is added to the masculine forms to form feminine nouns. There are three classes of such nouns.

Class 1: Those masculine forms which undergo no change before the addition of *-ba:y*, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
hə̃:z	'boatman'	hə̃:zba:y
ma:sṭar	'teacher'	ma:sṭarba:y
va:zɨ	'cook'	va:zɨba:y

Class 2: Those in which the consonant in the stem of the masculine form is palatalized before *-ba:y*, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
dob	'washerman'	dob'ba:y
gu:r	'milkman'	gu:r'ba:y

Class 3: Those in which /ɨ/ is added before suffixation, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
go:r	'Hindu priest'	go:rɨba:y
mozu:r	'laborer'	mozu:rɨba:y
pi:r	'Muslim priest'	pi:rɨba:y

Note that the above feminine forms may also refer to the wife of a professional man, e.g., *dob'ba:y* 'wife of a *dhobi*'.

4.1.3.1.2. Suffix Change

The masculine suffix *-vo:l* changes to a feminine suffix *-va:ǰen'* (or *və:ǰ*). The use of these suffixes in Kashmiri is, by and large, the same as *va:la:* and *va:li:* in Hindi-Urdu, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
ga:ḍivo:l	'cart driver'	ga:ḍiva:ǰen'
kh'anɨvo:l	'a good eater'	kh'anɨva:ǰen'
maka:nɨvo:l	'home owner'	maka:nɨva:ǰen'
phe:rivo:l	'pedlar'	phe:riva:ǰen'

4.1.3.1.3. Vowel and Consonant Change

There are the following types of vowel and consonant changes:

1. The last vowel in the masculine form changes (i.e., /u/ changes to /ɨ/) and the last consonant changes to /ǰ/ or /č/, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
ga:ṭul	'a wise man'	ga:ṭɨǰ
latshul	'broom'	latshɨǰ
phuṭul	'package'	phuṭɨǰ
ṭaṭhul	'manger'	ṭaṭhɨǰ
tihur	'tip of a tree or plant'	tihɨǰ
tsha:vul	'goat'	tsha:vɨǰ
va:tul	'sweeper'	va:tɨǰ
batukh	'duck'	batɨč

Note also the form ḍ'ʉ:g 'spool of thread' ḍɨ:ǰ (fem.).

2. The stem vowel /o/ changes to /ə/ and the final consonant /t/ changes to /ts/, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
mot	'madman'	məts

3. The stem vowel changes to /ə/ and the final consonant changes to /ḍ/, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
lang	'branch (of a tree)'	ləṇḍ
long	'lame man'	ləṇḍ

4. The stem vowel /o/ changes to /ə/ and the final consonant /n/ is palatalized, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
on	'a blind man'	ən'
zon	'person'	zən'

Note that this also applies if the vowel is long, e.g., ko:n 'a one-eyed person' kə:n' (fem.).

4.1.3.1.4. Vowel Change

The last back vowels change to central vowel /ɨ/ or /ə/, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
gagur	'rat'	gagɨr
khor	'a dirty person' or 'a naughty person'	khər
khũ: kh	'a person with a nasal twang'	khə̃: kh
koṭ	'boy'	kəṭ
ko: tur	'pigeon'	ko: tɨr
kɔkur	'cook'	kɔkɨr
loṭ	'tail'	ləṭ
poṭ	'plank'	pəṭ

4.1.3.1.5. Consonant Change

The consonant changes are, among others, of the following two types:

1. The word final /l/ changes to /ǰ/, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
kul	'tree'	kuǰ
tul	'piece (of straw)'	tuǰ
ṭul	'lump'	ṭuǰ

2. The word final /n/ is palatalized, e.g.,

Masculine		Feminine
hu:n	'dog'	hu:n'

4.1.3.1.6. Morpheme Replacement

In certain forms morphemes are replaced for forming feminine. Note, among others, the following:

Masculine		Feminine
da:d	'bull'	ga:v
kaṭh	'ram'	gəb
kə̃:ṭur	'sparrow'	tsər
marɨd	'man'	zana:n
ru:n	'husband'	kɔlay

4.1.3.2. Gender Distribution of Some Lexical Sets

4.1.3.2.1. Names of Months and Days

Names of months are masculine and names of days are feminine, i.e.,

Masculine

(a)
vah'akh
ze:ṭh
ha:r
šra:vun
bə:dɨr (p'ath)
ə:šid
ka:rtik(h)
mənǰiho:r
poh
ma:g
pha:gun
tsithɨr

Feminine

(b)	a:thɨva:r	'Sunday'
	tsəndɨrva:r	'Monday'
	bomva:r	'Tuesday'
	bodva:r	'Wednesday'
	brasva:r	'Thursday'
	šɔkɨrva:r (ǰumah)	'Friday'
	baṭɨva:r	'Saturday'

4.1.3.2.2. Names of Cities

Masculine

ali:gaḍ	'Aligarh'
amba:la:	'Ambala'
aṁr'atsar	'Amritsar'
a:gra:	'Agra'
baṅa:ras	'Banaras'
banglo:r	'Bangalore'
bika:ne:r	'Bikaner'
bindra:ban	'Vrindavan'
bu:pa:l	'Bhopal'
čəṅḍi:gaḍ	'Chandigarh'
čito:ḍ	'Chitor'
de:ra:du:n	'Dehradun'
gɔrda:spo:r	'Gurdaspur'
go:rakhpo:r	'Gorakhpur'
indo:r	'Indore'
ǰabalpo:r	'Jabalpur'
ǰaipo:r	'Jaipur'
ja:landar	'Jullundur'
ǰo:dpo:r	'Jodhpur'
ǰɔm	'Jammu'
kalɨkata:	'Calcutta'
karna:l	'Karnal'
karu:khe:tɨr	'Kurukshetra'
ka:npo:r	'Kanpur'

Masculine

lakhnav	'Lucknow'
landan	'London'
lo:hu:r	'Lahore'
ludiya:na:	'Ludhiana'
madra:s	'Madras'
mathɨra:	'Mathura'
me:raṭh	'Meerut'
mura:da:ba:d	'Moradabad'
paṭha:nko:ṭ	'Pathankot'
paṭna:	'Patna'
paṭ'a:la:	'Patiala'
pəhəlga:m	'Pahalgam'
po:mpar	'Pamphore'
pu:(o:)na:	'Poona'
sa:gar	'Sagar'
sa:hranpo:r	'Saharapur'
simla:	'Simla'
siri:nagar	'Srinagar'
šupɨyan	'Shopian'
udaypo:r	'Udaipur'
uǰe:n	'Ujjain'

Feminine

bambai	'Bombay'
bare:li:	'Bareilly'
dil(i:)	'Delhi'

3

Feminine

gulmarg	'Gulmarg'
ǰã:si:	'Jhansi'
karə:či:	'Karachi'
ra:valp'ėnḍ	'Rawalpindi'

4.1.3.2.3. Names of Vehicles

Masculine

bə:skal	'bicycle'
dũ:gɨ	'boat'
havə:(h)i: ǰaha:zɨ	'airplane'
mo:tar	'motor car'
samandəri: ǰaha:zɨ	'ship'
sɨku:ṭar	'scooter'
ṭamṭam	'gig'
tã:gɨ	'tonga'
ṭempu:	'tempo'
zə̃:pa:nɨ	'palanquin'

Feminine

bas	'bus'
bəg'	'buggy'
dã:dɨ gə:d'	'bullock-cart'
ḍə̃:d'	'stretcher'
ḍu:l'	'palanquin'
gə:ḍ'	'cart' or 'vehicle'
ǰi:p	'jeep'

Feminine

ka:r	'car'
la:ri:	'lorry'
na:v	'boat'
re:l	'train'
rikša:	'rickshaw'
šikə:r'	'shikara'
ṭrak	'truck'

4.1.3.2.4. Names of Rivers

Masculine

b'a:s	'Bias'
ra:vi:	'Ravi'

Feminine

brampu:tur	'Brahmaputra'
čina:b	'Chenab'
ganga:	'The Ganges'
go:da:vəri:	'Godavari'
ǰamna:	'The Jamuna'
ǰehlim	'The Jhelum'
ka:ve:ri:	'Cauvery'
krišna:	'Krishna'
ledɨr	'Lidder'
s'and	'Sind'
v'ath	'The Vitasta'

4.1.3.2.5. Names of Trees

The suffix -kul is added to denote masculine trees and -kuǰ to denote feminine trees.[1]

Masculine

ambɨ kul	'mango tree'
ba:da:m kul	'almond tree'
du:n' kul	'walnut tree'
gila:sɨ kul	'cherry tree'
ke:lɨ kul	'banana tree'
kikar' kul	'kikar tree'
o:lav bukha:rɨ kul	'plum tree'
tsandan kul	'sandalwood tree'
tulɨ kul	'mulberry tree'
ya:ri kul	'pine tree'

Feminine

ə:r kuǰ	'plum tree'
ə:l'či kuǰ	'a kind of cherry tree'
ba:da:m kuǰ	'almond tree'
breyi kuǰ	'berry tree'
bo:ni kuǰ	'chinar tree'
dači kuǰ	'grape tree'
də:nɨ kuǰ	'pomegranate tree'
tangɨ kuǰ	'pear tree'
tse:rɨ kuǰ	'apricot tree'
tsŭ:th' kuǰ	'apple tree'
vi:r	'willow'
yə:r	'pine tree'

4.1.3.2.6. Names of Flowers

Masculine

də:n po:š	'pomegranate blossom'
gula:b	'rose'
guliaphta:b	'sunflower'
gunaphči po:š	'violet'
ǰa:phur	'marigold'
kənd' po:š	'thistle'
kɔngɨ po:š	'saffron flower'

Feminine

čame: li:	'evening glory'
yembɨrzal	'narcissus'

4.1.4. The Case System

4.1.4.1. Distinctions

In order to classify Kashmiri nouns according to case inflection, we shall divide them into the following sub-groups:

1. First, those which function without any postpositions, e.g., nominative;
2. Second, those which may take an optional postposition, which, however, depends on certain formal and contextual restraints, e.g.,

   ra:mas kits an tsoṭ

   'Get some bread for Ram.'

   or

   ra:mas an tsoṭ

Note that the postposition k'ut, kit', kits, kitsɨ may be deleted.

3. Third, those cases where a postposition is obligatory, e.g., See the discussion on Genetive (4.1.4.2.2.1), locative (4.1.4.2.2.2.), concomitant (4.1.4.2.2.3.), instrumental and directional (4.1.4.2.3.).

4.1.4.2 Case Types

We shall divide the different types of cases in Kashmiri into two main classes, i.e., the Primary Cases and the Secondary Cases.

4.1.4.2.1. Primary Cases

The following are primary cases:

1. The Direct or Nominative case which occupies subject or direct object position in a clause, e.g.,

ra:mɨ čhu kh'ava:n batɨ

'Ram is eating food.'

krišnɨ čhi čava:n dɔd

'Krishna is drinking milk.'

2. The Agentive case.
3. The Dative and Ablative cases.

4.1.4.2.1.1. Markers of the Primary Cases

4.1.4.2.1.1.1. Nominative

The simple unmodified form of a noun is used in the Nominative case, e.g.,

ma:ka:nɨ čhu yet'ath

'The house is here.'

ši:lɨ a:yi ra:th

'Sheela arrived yesterday.'

4.1.4.2.1.1.2. Dative

-s is added to the base, e.g.,

mohnas k'ut an tha:l

'Get a plate for Mohan.'

mohnas kits an tsot

'Get a bread for Mohan.'

mohnas kit' an tha:l

'Get plates for Mohan.'

mohnas kitsɨ an tsoči

'Get breads for Mohan.'

The postposition, as mentioned earlier (see 4.1.4.1.) is optional, for example, mohnas an tha:l, mohnas an tsot. Note that the meaning is roughly the same as in Hindi-Urdu ke liye and English for. If used in the sense of Hindi ko, the following structure is used:

da:kɨvə:lis di kita:b
'Give the book to the postman.'

mohnas di tha:ɭ
'Give the plate to Mohan.'

4.1.4.2.1.1.3. Agentive

The agentive is marked by -an and -i, e.g.,

Ra:man khav batɨ
'Ram ate (his) food.'

kori d'ut ba:gas sag
' The girl watered the garden.'

4.1.4.2.2. Secondary Cases

By secondary cases we mean those cases which may be formed by adding postpositions to the dative and agentive cases. The following cases may be formed by adding postpositions with dative, e.g.,

1. Genitive
2. Locative
3. Concomitant

4.1.4.2.2.1. Genitive

The following Table gives the genitive markers:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
hund	hɨnd'	hɨnz	hɨnzɨ
uk	ɨk'	ič	ɨči
un	ɨn	ɨn'	ɨn'i

Consider the following:

a) -hund and -hɨnd'

va:tlan hund maka:n	'sweepers' house'
ko:ṙi hund duka:n	'girl's shop'
va:tlan hɨnd' pə̆:sɨ	'sweepers' money'
ko:r'an hɨnd' tha:l	'girls' plate'

b) -uk and ɨk'

ba:lṭi:nuk ḍaknɨ	'(the) lid of (a) bucket'
duka:nɨk' lamp	'(the) lamps of (the) shop'

c) -un and -ɨn'

ra:mun maka:n	'Ram's house'
ši:lɨn' dəǰ	'Sheela's handkerchief'

d) -hɨnz and hɨ́nzɨ

ko:ri hɨnz kita:b	'girl's book'
ko:ri hɨnzɨ kita:bɨ	'girl's books'

e) -ič and -iči

kuṭhič ḍab	'(the) balcony of (a) room'
kuṭhiči ḍabɨ	'(the) balconies of a room'

-sund' Forms of Genitive:

Note that -hund changes to -sund if preceded by

i) palatalized consonants, or

ii) high central vowel /ɨ/

Consider the following:

va:tlɨ sund	'of (a) sweeper'
insa:nɨ sund	'of (a) man'
va:zɨ sund	'of (a) cook'
kokrɨ sund	'of (a) cock'

ra:zɨ sund	'of (a) king'
mə:l' sund	'of (a) father'
hu:n' sund	'of (a) dog'
dob' sund	'of (a) washerman'

-sund has the following forms:

hund	sund
hɨnd'	sɨnd'
hɨnz	sɨnz
hɨnzɨ	sɨnzɨ

4.1.4.2.2.1.1 Semantic Areas of Genitive

The genitive postpositions convey the following semantic notions. Note that the translation equivalents given do not necessarily have a one-to-one correspondence.

a. Ownership, e.g.,

ra:mun duka:nɨ	'Ram's shop'
ši:lɨn' kita:b	'Sheela's book'

b. The idea of English for and Hindi-Urdu ke liye, e.g.,

da:d'uk davah	'medicine for (the) ailment'
ši:lun dod	'milk for Sheela'

c. Relationship (in the sense of kinship), e.g.,

ra:mun nečuv	'Ram's son'
ši:lun mo:l	'Sheela's father'

d. The idea of being a part of something, e.g.,

kuličlənḍ	'branch of (a) tree'
səndu:kuk ṭha:nɨ	'(the) top of (a) box'

e. The idea of being made of or consisting of, e.g.,

metsihund bagva:n	'God made of clay'
kan'an hund maka:nɨ	'(a) house (made of) stones'

f. The idea of being an extract of, essence of, e.g.,

n'en'an hund ras	'(the) sauce of (the) meat'
tsŭ:ṭh'an hund ši:rɨ	'(the) juice of apples'

g. The idea of feeling, e.g.,

manɨč' gra:y	'(the) upsetting of (the) mind'

4.1.4.2.2.2 Locative

The following postpositions, among others, are used for locative with the dative case:

andar, ənd'pəkh', bənɨ (kani), du:r, dəčhin, h'ari (kani), k'ath, kh.(h)vɨr', manz, nəzdi:kh, n'abar, niš, p'aṭh, sə:t', semanzas, talɨ.

4.1.4.2.2.2.1. Semantic Areas of Locative

The following description and examples illustrate some of the semantic areas of the locative postpositions.

a) andar 'inside'

This is roughly used in the same sense as Hindi-Urdu andar, e.g.,

ḍi:kčas andar čhi o:lav

'(The) potatoes are in (a) pot.'

gara:ǰas andar čhu mo:ṭar

'(The) car is in (the) garage.'

b) ənd'pəkh' 'around,' 'in the neighborhood of'

This expresses indefinite location.

səku:las ənd'pəkh' a:si ḍa:kha:nɨ

'(The) post office will be around (the) school.'

c) bonɨ (kani) 'below'

maka:nas bɔnɨ (kani) čhu na:g

'(The) spring is below (the) house.'

d) du:r 'far'

səku:las du:r pahan čhu ḍa:kha:nɨ

'(The) post office is a little further from (the) school.'

e) dəčhin' 'rightwards'

ra:mas dəčhin' čhu təm'sund mo:l bihith

'Sitting on Ram's right is his father.'

f) heri (kani) 'upwards'

ḍa:kha:nas heri (kani) čhu madrasɨ

'(The) school is above (the) post office.'

g) k'ath 'in'

This is used mostly with receptacles.

bo:tli k'ath an davah

'Get (the) medicine in (a) bottle.'

p'a:las k'ath an dɔd

'Bring milk in (a) cup.'

h) khɔ(h)vɨr' 'leftwards'

te:blas khɔ(h)vɨr' čhu bu:ṭh

'(The) shoes are on (the) left side of (the) door.'

i) manz 'in'

panǰras manz čhu to:tɨ

'(The) parrot is inside (the) cage.'

j) nɔzdi:kh 'near'

panǰras nɔzdi:kh čhu to:tɨ

'(The) parrot is near (the) cage.'

k) *n'abar* 'out'

'panǰras n'abar čhu to:tɨ

'(The) parrot is outside (the) cage.'

l) *niš* 'near'

gila:sas nišcčhu ganakh ḍabɨ

'(The) box of matches is near (the) glass.'

m) *p'aṭh* 'on'

kita:bi p'aṭh čhu p'ansalɨ

'(The) pencil is on (the) book.'

n) *sə:t'* 'alongside'

sandu:kas sə:t' čhu pensalɨ

'(The)pencil is along (the) box.'

o) *semanzas* 'right in the middle', 'in the center'

kuṭhis semanzas čhu bihith mohnɨ

'Mohan is sitting right in (the) middle of (the) room.'

p) *talɨ* 'under'

kita:bɨ talɨ čha čiṭh'

'(The) letter is under (the) book.'

4,1.4.2.2.3. *Concomitant*

The two markers of this case are *sə:tin* and *sə:t'*. These may roughly be translated as *with* or *accompanying* in English and *ke: sa:th* in Hindi. Note that this use is to be distinguished from *with* in the instrumental sense. Consider the following:

maǰi sə:tin a:yi ši:lɨ

'Sheela came with her mother.'

maǰi sə:t' gatshi ši:lɨ ba:zar

'Sheela will go to (the) market with her mother.'

4.1.4.2.3. Instrumental and Directional Cases

The following postpositional phrases are formed by adding postpositions with the Agentive.

1. *Instrumental* (in the sense of *with*)

   The instrumental postpositions are *sə:tin* or *sə:t'*. These two are, by and large, in free variation, though *sə:tin* conveys the idea of emphasis which is absent in *sə:t'*.

   sə:tin and *sə:t'* have roughly the same semantic areas as English *with* or *by* (e.g., 'Ram eats with his hands') and *ke dva:ra* and *ke zəriye* in Hindi (e.g., *ram ḍa:k ke dva:ra čiṭhi: be:ǰ de:ga:*)

   ra:man kh'av athɨ sə:t' batɨ

   'Ram ate food with his hands.'

2. *Directional*

   The following, among others, are the directional postpositions:

   a) -*andɨrɨ* 'from inside'

      ga:nɨ andɨrɨ dra:yi ga:v

      '(A) cow came out of the cow shed.'

   b) *p'aṭhɨ* 'from'

      ǰemi p'aṭhɨ a:v ǰaha:z

      '(The) plane arrived from Jammu.'

   c) *niš* 'from near'

      hu:nis niš tsal du:r

      '(You) run away from near (the) dog.'

4.1.4.3. Noun Classes: Declension

4.1.4.3.1. First Declension

Singular Forms: Masculine

	Nom.	Dat.	Abl.	Agent.
'a child'	gobur	gobras	gobrɨ	gobran
'cock'	kɔkur	kɔkras	kɔkrɨ	kɔkran
'an egg'	ṭhu:l	ṭhu:las	ṭhu:lɨ	ṭhu:lan
'a man'	marɨd	mardas	mardɨ	mardan
'cattle'	gupun	gupnas	gupnɨ	gupnan
'a pigeon'	ko:tur	ko:tras	ko:trɨ	ko:tran
'potato'	o:luv	o:lvas	o:lvɨ	o:lvan
'an old man'	bɨḍɨ	bɨḍas	bɨḍɨ	bɨḍan
'mongoose'	nu:l	nu:las	nu:lɨ	nu:lan
'a duck'	batukh	batkas	batkɨ	batkan
'a bull'	dã:d	dã:das	dã:dɨ	dã:dan
'a carpenter'	čha:n	čha:nas	čha:nɨ	čha:nan
'an ass'	khar	kharas	kharɨ	kharan
'blacksmith'	kha:r	kha:ras	kha:rɨ	kha:ran
'a potter'	kra:l	kra:las	kra:lɨ	kra:lan
'a plate'	tha:l	tha:las	tha:lɨ	tha:lan
'jackal'	ša:l	ša:las	šailɨ	ša:lan
'a net'	za:l	za:las	za:lɨ	za:lan
'horse shoe'	na:l	na:las	na:lɨ	na:lan
'maternal uncle'	ma:m	ma:mas	ma:mɨ	ma:man
'fire'	na:r	na:ras	na:rɨ	na:ran

	Nom.	Dat.	Abl.	Agent.
'frame'	da:r	da:ras	da:rɨ	da:ran
'door'	darva:zɨ	darva:zas	darva:zɨ	darva:zan
'door jamb'	da:s	da:sas	da:sɨ	da:san
'mouth'	ə:s	ə:sas	ə:sɨ	ə:san
'head'	kalɨ	kalas	kalɨ	kalan
'hand'	athɨ	athas	athɨ	athan
'foot'	khɔr	khɔras	khɔrɨ	khɔran
'illumination'	zu:l	zu:las	zu:lɨ	zu:lan
'onion'	ganḍɨ	ganḍas	ganḍɨ	ganḍan
'a stick'	ḍandɨ	ḍanḍas	ḍanḍɨ	ḍanḍan

Plural Forms: Masculine

Nominative	Dative	Ablative/Agentive
gobar	gobran	gobrav
kɔkar	kɔkran	kɔkrav
ṭhu:l	ṭhu:lan	ṭhu:lav
gupan	gupɨnan	gupɨnav
marɨd	mardan	mardav
ko:tar	ko:tran	ko:trav
o:lav	o:lvan	o:lvav
bɨḍɨ	bɨḍan	bɨḍav
nu:l	nu:lan	nu:lav
batakh	batɨkan	batɨkav
dã:d	dã:dan	dã:dav
čha:n	čha:nan	čha:nav
khar	kharan	kharav

Nominative	Dative	Ablative/Agentive
kha:r	kha:ran	kha:rav
kra:lɑ	kra:lan	kra:lav
tha:l	tha:lan	tha:lav
ša:l	ša:lan	ša:lav
za:l	za:lan	za:lav
na:l	na:lan	na:lav
ma:m	ma:man	ma:mav
na:r	na:ran	na:rav
da:r	da:ran	da:rav
darva:zɨ	darva:zan	darva:zav
da:s	da:san	da:sav
ə:s	ə:san	ə:sav
kalɨ	kalan	kalav
athɨ	athan	athav
khɔr	khɔran	khɔrav
zu:l	zu:lan	zu:lav
ganḍɨ	ganḍan	ganḍav
ḍanḍɨ	ḍanḍan	ḍanḍav

4.1.4.3.2. Second Declension

Singular Forms: Masculine

	Nom.	Dat.	Abl.	Agen.
'an insect'	k'om	k'əmis	k'əmi	k'əm'
'dog'	hu:n	hu:nis	ho:ni	hu:n'
'father'	mo:l	mə:lis	ma:li	mə:l'
'a tail'	loṭ	laṭis	laṭi	ləṭ'

	Nom.	Dat.	Abll	Agen.
'pony'	ṭoṭ	ṭaṭis	ṭaṭi	ṭəṭ'
'son'	nečuv	nečvis	nečvi	nečiv'
'a cup'	kho:s	khə:sis	khasi	khə:s'
'navel'	tu:n	tu:nis	to:ni	tu:n'
'water'	po:n'	pə:nis	pa:ni	pə:n'
'a lamp'	tsõ:g	tsə̃:gis	tšãgi	tsə̃:g'
'boy'	koṭ	kəṭis	kaṭi	kəṭ'
'warm cloth'	poṭ	pəṭis	paṭi	pəṭ'
'Kashmiri basket'	phot	phətis	phati	phət'
'brother'	bo:y	bə:yis	ba:yi	bə:y
'tree'	kul	kulis	kuli	kul'
'walnut'	ḍu:n	ḍu:nis	ḍo:ni	ḍu:n'
'a grocer'	vo:n'	və:nis	va:ni	və:n'
'a Gujjar'	guǰur	guǰris	guǰri	guǰir'
'a guest'	potsh	pətshis	patshi	pətsh'
'a monkey'	ponz	ponz	pᵊnzis	pənz'
'seed'	b'o:l	b'ə:lis	b'a:li	bə:l'
'nail'	k'ul	kilis	kili	kil'
'a pot'	ḍul	ḍulis	ḍuli	ḍul'
'broom'	latshul	latshɨlis	latshli	latshɨl'
'calf'	votsh	vətshis	vatshi	vətsh'
'a goat'	tsha:vul	tsha:vlis	tsha:vɨli	tsha:vɨl
'a blade of grass'	ga:sɨtul	gasɨtulis	gasɨtuli	ga:sɨtul'
'face'	buth	buthis	buthi	buth'
'a bracelet'	koṛis	kəris	kari	kər'

Plural Forms: Masculine

Nominative	Dative	Ablative/Agentive
k'əm'	k'əm'an	k'əm'av
hu:n'	ho:n'an	ho:n'av
mə:l'	ma:l'an	ma:l'av
ləṭ'	laṭ'an	laṭ'av
ṭəṭ'	ṭaṭ'an	ṭaṭ'av
nečiv'	nečiv'an	nečiv'av
khə:s'	kha:s'an	kha:s'av
tu:n'	tu:n'an	tu:n'av
pə:n'	pa:n'an	pa:n'av
tsə̃:g'	tsã:g'an	tsã:g'av
kəṭ'	kaṭ'an	kaṭ'av
pəṭ'	paṭ'an	paṭ'av
phot'	phat'an	phat'av
bə:y	ba:yan	ba:yav
kul'	kul'an	kul'av
ḍu:n'	ḍo:n'an	ḍo:n'av
və:n'	va:n'an	va:n'av
guǰir'	guǰr'an	guǰr'av
pətsh'	patsh'an	patsh'av
pənz'	panz'an	panz'av
b'ə:l'	b'a:l'an	b'a:l'av
kil'	kil'an	kil'av
ḍul'	ḍul'an	ḍul'av
latshɨl'	latshɨl'an	latshɨl'av
vətsh'	vatsh'an	vatsh'av

Nominative	Dative	Ablative/Agentive
tsha: vɨl'	tsha: vɨl'an	tsha: vɨl'av
ga: sɨtul'	ga: sɨtul'an	ga: sɨlul'av
buth'	buth'an	buth'av
kər'	kar'an	kar'av

4.1.4.3.3. Third Declension

Singular Forms: Feminine

	Nominative	Dative/Ablative/Agentive
'bread'	tsoṭ	tsoči
'a chinar (tree)'	bu: n'	bo: ni
'a mare'	gur	guri
'Kashmiri basket'	pəǰ	paǰi
'mouth of an oven'	gəǰ	gaǰi
'a prostitute'	gə: n'	ga: ni
'a potter'	krə: ǰ	kra: ǰi
'a sparrow'	tsər	tsari
'snuff'	na: s	na: sti
'father's sister'	pɔph	pɔphi
'monkey'	pə̃z	pãzi
'mad woman'	məts	matsi
'a plank'	pəṭ	pači
'a rag'	zəṭ	zači
'handkerchief'	dəǰ	daǰi
'an old woman'	buḍ	buǰi
'a fan'	vavɨǰ	va: vǰi
'raddish'	muǰ	muǰi

	Nominative	Dative/Ablative/Agentive
'a mat'	patɨj	patǰi
'turnip'	gɔgɨǰ	gɔgǰi
'an earthen cooking pot'	leǰ	leǰi
'a fly'	məčh	mačhi
'an amulet'	rəčh	račhi
'a hen'	kɔkɨr	kɔkɨri
'a dead body'	laːš	laːši
'a buffalo'	mə̃ːš	mə̃ːši
'a bangle'	bungɨr	bungri
'a window'	dəːr	daːri
'a stick'	luːr	loːri
'an ewe'	gəb	gabi
'a mynah bird'	həːr	haːri
'a watch'	gər	gari
'a firepot'	kãːgri	kãːngri
'a blade of grass'	gãːsɨtuǰ	gaːsɨtuǰi
'a chair'	kurɨs'	kursi
'a piece of wood'	həṭ	hači
'a staircase'	heːr	heːri
'a pitcher'	nəːr	naːri

Plural Forms: Feminine

Nominative	Dative	Ablative/Agentive
tsoči	tsočan	tsočav
boːni	boːn'an	boːn'av
guri	gur'an	gur'av

Nominative	Dative	Ablative/Agentive
tsha: vɨǰi	tsha: vɨǰan	tsha: vɨǰav
paǰi	paǰ'an	paǰ'av
gaǰi	gaǰ'an	ggaǰ'av
ga: ni	ga: n'an	gga: n'av
kra: ǰi	kra: ǰ'an	kra: ǰ'av
tsari	tsar'an	tsar'av
ma: sɨ	ma: san	ma: sav
pɔ:phɨ	pɔ:phan	pɔ:phav
pãzɨ	pãzan	pãzav
matsɨ	matsan	matsav
pači	pačan	pačav
zači	začan	začav
daǰi	daǰan	daǰav
buǰi	buǰan	buǰavc
va: vɨǰi	va: vɨǰan	va: vɨǰav
muǰi	muǰan	muǰ'av
patǰi	patǰan	patǰav
gogǰi	gogǰan	gogǰ'av
leǰi	leǰan	leǰ'av
mačhi	mačhan	mačhav
račhi	račhan	račhav
kɔkri	kɔkr'an	kɔkr'av
la: ši	la: šan	la: šav
mə: ši	mə: šan	mə: šav
bungɨri	bungɨr'an	bungɨr'av
da: ri	da: r'an	da: r'av

Nominative	Dative	Ablative/Agentive
lo:ri	lo:r'an	lo:r'av
gabi	gab'an	gab'av
ha:ri	ha:r'an	ha:r'av
gari	gar'an	gar'av
kā:gri	kā:gr'an	ka:gr'av
ga:sɨtuǰi	ga:sɨtuǰan	ga:sɨtuǰav
kurɨsi	kurs'an	kurs'av
hači	hačan	hačav
he:rɨ	he:ran	he:rav
na:ri	na:r'an	na:r'av

4.2. Adjectives

4.2.1. Introduction

There is a two number and a two gender system for adjectives the same as for nouns.

4.2.2. Classes of Adjectives

Adjectives have two classes termed here Class I and Class II adjectives.

4.2.2.1. Class I

The members of this class show number, gender and case agreement with the noun head, e.g.,

Singular Forms

	n'u:l 'blue'		n'uk 'small' or 'thin'	
	Mas.	Fem.	Mas.	Fem.
Nom.	n'u:l	ni:ǰ	n'uk	nič
Dat.	ni:lis	ni:ǰi	nikis	niči
Abl.	ni:li	ni:ǰi	niki	niči
Ag.	ni:l'	ni:ǰi	nik'	niči

Plural Forms

	Mas.	Fem.	Mas.	Fem.
Nom.	ni:l'	ni:ji	nik'	niči
Dat.	ni:l'an	ni:ǰan	nik'an	ničan
Abl.	ni:l'av	ni:ǰav	nik'av	ničav
Ag.	ni:l'av	ni:ǰav	nik'av	ničav

4.2.2.2. Class II

The members of this class are not inflected for number, gender and case, e.g.,

ča:la:kh	'clever'
dɔšṭ	'bad'
gamgi:n	'sad'
ǰa:n	'good'
khatarna:kh	'dangerous'
kho:phna:kh	'frightful'
na:la:yakh	'worthless'
sa:ph	'clean'
sɔndar	'beautiful'

A large number of the members of this class are from Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit sources.

ǰa:n 'good'

	Mas.	Fem.
Nom.	ǰa:n ləḍki	ǰa:n ku:r
Dat.	ǰa:n ləḍkas	ǰa:n ko:ri
Abl.	ǰa:n ləḍkan	ǰa:n ko:ri
Ag.	ǰa:n ləḍkan	ǰa:n kori

4.2.3. Genitives as Modifiers

The genitive may function as a modifier. (For a detailed discussion see 5.1.1.2.3.1.)

4.2.3.1. Declension of the Genitive

The genitive postposition (see 4.1. 4.2.21.) agrees in gender, number and case with the following noun. Consider the following:

Singular Forms

	'shed for a cock' Mas:	'shed for a hen' Fem.
Nom.	kɔkrɨ sund mor	kɔkrɨ hund mor
Dat.	kɔkrɨ sɨndis məris	kɔkri hɨndis məris
Abl.	kɔkrɨ sɨndi mari	kɔkri hɨndi mari
Ag.	kɔkrɨ sɨnd' mər'	kɔkri hɨnd' mər'

Plural Forms

Nom	kɔkran hund mor	kɔkr'an hund mɔr
Dat.	kɔkran hɨnd'an mar'an	kɔkr'an hɨnd'an mar'an
Abl.	kɔkran hɨnd'av mar'av	kɔkr'an hɨnd'av mar'av
Ag.	kɔkran hɨnd'ev mar'av	kɔkr'an hɨnd'av mar'av

4.2.4. Demonstrative Modifiers

Demonstrative pronouns (i.e., yi, hu, su) may function as modifiers as in Hindi-Urdu. In the modifier position these are declined in the same way as the above Class I modifiers (cf. 4.2.2.1.), e.g.,

yi kəm' sɨnz kitaːb čhi	'Whose book is this?'
human koːr'an diyiv batɨ	'Give food to those girls.'

4.2.5. Modifiers of Quantity

The following are modifiers of quantity:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
yu:t	yi:t'	yi:ts	yi:tsɨ
t'u:t	ti:t'	ti:ts	ti:tsɨ
ku:t	kɨ:t'	kɨ:ts	kɨ:tsɨ

Masculine: tomul 'rice'

yu:t tomul	'This much rice'
t'u:t tomul	'That much rice'
ku:t tomul	'How much rice?'

Feminine: də:r 'beard'

yi:ts də:r	'This much beard'
ti:ts də:r	'That much beard'
kɨ:ts də:r	'How much beard?'

These items generally refer to an indefinite quantity unless there is an anaphoric reference, e.g.,

ši:las dima: tso:r po:š	'Shall I give four flowers to Sheela?'
a: ti:t' ti dihas na:	'Yes, won't you give her even that many?'

The following, among others, may also be used as modifiers of quantity:

kam 'little', e.g., təm' d'ut me kam dɔd

'He gave me only a little milk.'

ratsha(h) 'a small quantity', e.g., me gɛtsh mədre:rɨ ratsha(h)

'I would like a little sugar.'

seṭha(h) 'much', e.g., tati o:s seṭha(h) tomul

'There was a large quantity of rice there.'

4.2.6. Modifiers of Quality

The following are modifiers of quality:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
yuth	yith'	yitsh	yitshɨ
t'uth	tith'	titsh	tishɨ
k'uth	kith'	kitsh	kitshɨ

hu:n 'dog'

yuth hu:n	'(a) dog of this type (or kind)'
t'uth hu:n	'(a)dog of that type (or kind)'
k'uth hu:n	'(a) dog of what type (or kind)'

hu:n': 'bitch'.

yitsh hu:n'	'(a)bitch of this type (or kind)'
titsh hu:n'	'(a)bitch of that type (or kind)'
kitsh hu:n'	'(a)bitch of what type (or kind).

4.2.7. Superlative

The superlative marking item is sa:rivɨy which semantically functions in the same way as Hindi-Urdu sabse: or sabmẽ:. Sa:riviy is followed by khɔtɨ.

The superlative marker occurs after the verb except in inversion, e.g., ši:li čhi sa:riviy šur'av khɔti ǰa:n 'Sheela is the best among all the children' or sa:rivɨy šur'av khɔtɨ čhi ši:lɨ ǰa:n.

4.2.8. Comparative

khɔtɨ, manzɨ and h'uh are the comparative markers. Consider the following:

ši:li čhi te:z

'Sheela is short tempered.'

ši:li čhi ra:mini khɔti te:z

'Sheela is more short tempered than Ram.'

4.2.8.1. h'uh Form.

h'uh is used roughly in the sense of Hindi-Urdu jaisa:, e.g.,

ra:mɨ čhu ši:las h'uh

'Ram is like Sheela.'

h'uh has the following forms:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
h'uh	hi(h)	hiš	hišɨ

h:uh is also used with a number of fixed comparative collocations. Note, among others, the following contexts in which it is used.

i) Color

kruhun kiṭika:l h'uh	'black as darkness'
saphe:d ši:n h'uh	'white as snow'
vɔzul na:r h'uh	'red as fire'
l'odur gagur(gago:r) h'uh	'yellow as a (scared) mouse'
pron dodi maṭh h'uh	'fair complexioned as a pitcher of milk'
čhot po:š h'uh	'faded as a flower'
čhot muǰ h'uh	'faded as a radish'
vɔzul ambir' tsũṭh h'uh	'red as an ambir' apple'

ii) Speed

te:z tropi sitsan h'uh	'fast as a needle'

iii) Shape

həǰ dačhi ra:ṭh hiš	'crooked as a grape vine'
hol dã:di mithir h'uh	'crooked as a bull's urine'

iv) Size

v'əṭh mʊ:š hiš	'fat as a she buffalo'
zə:viǰ kani həpin' hiš	'thin as a centipede'
thod phras h'uh	'tall as a poplar'
tshoṭ ša:liloṭ h'uh	'short as a jackal's tail'
tshoṭ gɔle:li h'uh	'short as a slingshot'
kad əliph h'uh	'tall as an aleph'

v) Taste

ṭ'oṭh zahar h'uh	'bitter as poison'
modur kand h'uh	'sweet as candy'
tsok a:taš h'uh	'sharp (sour) as fire'
hondur yakh h'uh	'cold as ice'

vi) Temperature

yakh ši:n h'uh	'cold as ice'
sokhi vušun na:givo:n' h'uh	'lukewarm as spring water'

vii) Weight

lot ha:r h'uh	'light as a seashell'

4.2.9. Numerals

4.2.9.1. Classes of Numerals

There are two main classes of numerals, i.e., Quantifiers and Classifiers. The quantifiers are those which give the number of things, and classifiers are those lexical items and/or suffixes which classify different items.

4.2.9.1.1. Quantifiers

Quantifiers are divided into three sub-classes, i.e., cardinals, ordinals, and fractions.

4.2.9.1.1.1. Cardinals

Cardinals may be divided into:

1. base items
2. non-base items
3. tens
4. compound items

4.2.9.1.1.1.1. Base Items

akh	'one'
zi̲	'two'
tre	'three'
tso:r	'four'
pə̃:tsh	'five'
še	'six'

sath	'seven'
ə:ṭh	'eight'
nav	'nine'

4.2.9.1.1.1.2. Non-base Items

kah	'eleven'
bah	'twelve'

4.2.9.1.1.1.3. Tens

dəh	'ten'
vuh	'twenty'
trɨh	'thirty'
tsatǰih	'forty'
pantsah	'fifty'
še:ṭh	'sixty'
satath	'seventy'
ši:th	'eighty'
namath	'ninety'

4.2.9.1.1.1.4. Compound Items

The compound items are formed by the combination of the above items. The variant forms of the above are given in 4.2.9.2.

truvah	'thirteen'
tsɔdah	'fourteen'
pandah	'fifteen'
šurah	'sixteen'
sadah	'seventeen'

ardah	'eighteen'
kun(ɨ)vuh	'nineteen'
akɨvuh	'twenty-one'
zɨto: vuh	'twenty-two'
trovuh	'twenty-three'
tsovuh	'twenty-four'
pɨntsɨh	'twenty-five'
šatɨvuh	'twenty-six'
sato: vuh	'twenty-seven'
atho: vuh	'twenty-eight'
kun(ɨ) trɨh	'twenty-nine'
akɨtrɨh	'thirty-one'
dɔyitrɨh	'thirty-two'
teyɨtrɨh	'thirty-three'
tsɔyɨtrɨh	'thirty-four'
pə̃: tsɨtrɨh	'thirty-five'
šeyɨtrɨh	'thirty-six'
satɨtrɨh	'thirty-seven'
arɨtrɨh	'thirty-eight'
kun(ɨ) tə: ǰih	'thirty-nine'
akɨtə: ǰih	'forty-one'
dɔyɨtə: ǰih	'forty-two'
teyɨtə: ǰih	'forty-three'
tsoyɨtə: ǰih	'forty-four'
pə̃: tsɨtə: ǰih	'forty-five'
šeyitə: ǰih	'forty-six'
satɨtə: ǰih	'forty-seven'
satɨtə: ǰih	'forty-eight'

kun(ɨ)vanzah	'forty-nine'
akɨvanzah	'fifty-one'
duvanzah	'fifty-two'
truvanzah	'fifty-three'
tsuvanzah	'fifty-four'
pə̃: tsɨvanzah	'fifty-five'
šuvanzah	'fifty-six'
satɨvanzah	'fifty-seven'
arɨvanzah	'fifty-eight'
kun(ɨ)hə: ṭh	'fifty-nine'
akɨhə: ṭh	'sixty-one'
duhə: ṭh	'sixty-two'
truhə: ṭh	'sixty-three'
tsuhə: ṭh	'sixty-four'
pə̃: tsɨhə: ṭh	'sixty-five'
šuhə: ṭh	'sixty-six'
satɨhə: ṭh	'sixty-seven'
arɨhə: ṭh	'sixty-eight'
kun(ɨ)satath	'sixty-nine'
akɨsatath	'seventy-one'
dusatath	'seventy-two'
tru(ɨ)satath	'seventy-three'
tsusatath	'seventy-four'
pə̃tsɨsatath	'seventy-five'
šusatath	'seventy-six'
satɨsatath	'seventy-seven'
arɨsatath	'seventy-eight'
kunɨši: th	'seventy-nine'

ak(ɨ)ši:th	'eighty-one'
dɔyiši:th (duši:th)	'eighty-two'
treyɨši:th (truši:th)	'eighty-three'
tsɔyiši:th (tsuši:th)	'eighty-four'
pə:tsɨši:th	'eighty-five'
šɔyɨši:th	'eighty-six'
satɨši:th	'eighty-seven'
arɨši:th	'eighty-eight'
kunɨnamath	'eighty-nine'
akɨnamath	'ninety-one'
dunamath	'ninety-two'
tru(ɨ)namath	'ninety-three'
tsunamath	'ninety-four'
pə:tsɨnamath	'ninety-five'
šunamath	'ninety-six'
satɨnamath	'ninety-seven'
arɨnamath	'ninety-eight'
namɨnamath	'ninety-nine'

Note that kunɨ is prefixed to all the numbers which mark one less than a decade, except 99, e.g.,

19.	kunɨvuh	59.	kunɨho:th
29.	kunɨtrɨh	69.	kunɨsatath
39.	kunitɔ:ǰih	79.	kunɨši:th
49.	kunɨvanzeh	89.	kunɨnamath

4.2.9.1.1.1.5. Hundreds

Hundreds are formed by adding hath or šath to a cardinal number, e.g.,

akh hath	'one hundred'
zɨ hath	'two hundred'
kah šath	'eleven hundred'

4.2.9.1.1.1.6. Thousands

Thousands are formed by adding sa:s to cardinal numbers as in the case of hundreds, (see above 4.2.9.1.1.1.5.), e.g.,

akh sa:s	'one thousand'
zɨ sa:s	'two thousand'
kah sa:s	'eleven thousand'

4.2.9.1.1.1.7. Numerals above a 'hundred and a 'thousand'

Numbers above a hundred or a thousand may be formed by adding the conjunction tɨ 'and' after the main number, e.g.,

akh hath	'one hundred'
akh hath tɨ akh	'one hundred and one'
akh sa:s	'one thousand'
akh sa:s tɨ akh	'one thousand and one'

lač̣h is used for 'one lac', (i.e., 'one hundred thousand') and karo:r for 'one hundred lacs'.

4.2.9.1.1.2. Ordinals

Ordinal numbers may be formed by adding the suffix -yum to a cardinal form.

4.2.9.1.1.2.1. Alternations of Ordinals

The following changes may be noted:

1. Cardinal zi changes to do in ordinals, i.e., do + yum = doyum;
2. Cardinals 69 - 99 drop the final /h/ before yum suffix (and in certain cases /a/ changes to /ɨ/, e.g., satath 'seventy' satɨtyum 'seventieth');
3. Cardinals 4 - 60 undergo the following changes:
    (a) /oː/ changes to /uː/, e.g., tsoːr 'four', tsuːryum 'fourth';
    (b) /eː/ changes to /iː/, e.g., šeːṭh 'sixty', šiːṭhyum 'sixtieth';
    (c) /ɔ̃/ changes to /ĩ/, e.g., pɔ̃ːtsh 'five', pĩːtsyum 'fifth';
4. /a/ changes to /ə/ or /əː/ in cardinals which end in /-ah/, e.g ,

bah	'twelve'	bəhyum	'twelfth'
pandah	'fifteen'	pandəːhyum	'fifteenth'
šurah	'sixteen	šurəːhyum	'sixteenth'

There are no changes before yum in 19 - 38 and 59 - 68.

Note that ordinals have a feminine form yim.

4.2.9.1.1.2.2. Ordinals up to a 'hundred'

The ordinals from 1 - 100 are listed below:

ekyum(ekim)/gɔḍn'uk	'first'
doyum	'second'
treyum	'third'
tsuːryum	'fourth'

pə̃: tsyum	'fifth'
šeyum	'sixth'
sətyum	'seventh'
ɨ: ṭhyum	'eighth'
nəvyum	'ninth'
dəhyum	'tenth'
kəhyum	'eleventh'
bəhyum	'twelfth'
truvə: hyum	'thirteenth'
tsɔdə: hyum	'fourteenth'
pandə: hyum	'fifteenth'
šurə: hyum	'sixteenth'
sadə: hyum	'seventeenth'
arɨdə: hyum	'eighteenth'
kunɨvuhyum	'nineteenth'
vuhyum	'twentieth'
akɨvuhyum	'twenty-first'
zɨto: vuhyum	'twenty-second'
trovuhyum	'twenty-third'
tsovuhyum	'twenty-fourth'
pɨntsɨhyum	'twenty-fifth'
šatɨvuhyum	'twenty-sixth'
sato: vuhyum	'twenty-seventh'
aṭho: vuhyum	'twenty-eighth'
kunɨtrɨhyum	'twenty-ninth'
trɨhyum	'thirtieth'
akɨtrɨhyum	'thirty-first'

dɔyɨtrɨhyum	'thirty-second'
teyɨtrɨhyum	'thirty-third'
tsɔyitrɨhyum	'thirty-fourth'
pə̃tsɨtrɨhyum	'thirty-fifth'
šeyɨtrɨhyum	'thirty-sixth'
satɨtrɨhyum	'thirty-seventh'
arɨtrɨhyum	'thirty-eighth'
kunɨtə:ǰihyum	'thirty-ninth'
tsatɨǰihyum	'fortieth'
akɨtə:ǰihyum	'forty-first'
dɔyitə:ǰihyum	'forty-second'
teyitə:ǰihyum	'forty-third'
tsɔyitə:ǰihyum	'forty-fourth'
pə̃:tsɨtə:ǰihyum	'forty-fifth'
šeyɨtə:ǰihyum	'forty-sixth'
satɨtə:ǰihyum	'forty-seventh'
arɨtə:ǰihyum	'forty-eighth'
kunɨvanzɔ:hyum	'forty-ninth'
pantsə:hyum	'fiftieth'
akɨvenzə:hyum	'fifty-first'
duvenzə:hyum	'fifty-second'
tru(ɨ)vanzɔ:hyum	'fifty-third'
tsuvanzə:hyum	'fifty-fourth'
pə̃:tsɨvanzə:hyum	'fifty-fifth'
šuvanzɔ:hyum	'fifty-sixth'
satɨvanzə:hyum	'fifty-seventh'
arɨvenzə:hyum	'fifty-eighth'
kunɨhə:ṭhyim	'fifty-ninth'

ši: ṭhyim	'sixtieth'
akɨhə: ṭhyim	'sixty-first'
duhə: ṭhyim	'sixty-second'
tru(ɨ)hə: ṭhyim	'sixty-third'
tsuhə: ṭhyim	'sixty-fourth'
pə̃: tsɨhə: ṭhyim	'sixty-fifth'
šuhə: ṭhyim	'sixty-sixth'
satɨhə: ṭhyim	'sixty-seventh'
arɨhə: ṭhyim	'sixty-eighth'
kunɨsaṭɨtyim	'sixty-ninth'
satɨtyim	'seventieth'
akɨsatɨtyim	'seventy-first'
dusatɨtyim	'seventy-second'
tru(ɨ)satɨtyim	'seventy-third'
tsusatɨtyim	'seventy-fourth'
pə̃: tsɨsatɨtyim	'seventy-fifth'
šusatɨtyim	'seventy-sixth'
satɨsatɨtyim	'seventy-seventh'
arɨsatɨtyim	'seventy-eighth'
kunɨši: tyim	'seventy-ninth'
ši: tyim	'eightieth'
akɨši: tyim	'eighty-first'
dɔyiši: tyim	'eighty-second'
truši: tyim	'eighty-third'
tsuši: tyim	'eighty-fourth'
pə̃: tsɨši: tyim	'eighty-fifth'
šuši: tyim	'eighty-sixth'
satɨši: tyim	'eighty-seventh'

arɨši: tyim	'eighty-eighth'
kunɨnamtyim	'eighty-ninth'
namɨtyim	'ninetieth'
akɨnamɨtyim	'ninety-first'
dunamɨtyim	'ninety-second'
trunamɨtyim	'ninety-third'
tsunamɨtyim	'ninety-fourth'
pə̃: tsɨnamɨtyim	'ninety-fifth'
šunamɨtyim	'ninety-sixth'
satɨnamɨtyim	'ninety-seventh'
arɨnamɨtyim	'ninety-eighth'
namɨnamɨtyim	'ninety-ninth'
hətyim	'hundredth'

Note that in certain items there is a free-variation between yum and yim (e.g., ši: tyim or ši: tyum 'sixty').

4.2.9.1.1.2.3. Ordinals above a 'hundred' and a 'thousand'

Ordinals above a 'hundred' and a 'thousand' are marked by adding tɨ (cf. Numerals above 'hundred' and 'thousand' 4.2.9.1.1.1.7.) to the cardinal number and using the ordinal number after it, e.g.,

akh hath tɨ akyum	'one hundred and first'
akh sa: s tɨ dəhyum	'one thousand and tenth'

4.2.9.1.1.3. Fractions

Fractions are marked by the following items:

oḍ (fem. əḍ)	'half'
sɔ:d	'one and a quarter'
ḍɔḍ	'one and a half'
du:n	'three quarters'
ḍa:y	'two and a half'
sa:ḍɨ	'half'

Note that for 'one and a half' ḍɔḍ is used, and for 'two and a half' ḍa:y is used. But beginning with numeral 3, sa:ḍɨ is added to mark 'half', e.g.,

sa:ḍɨ tso:r rɔpɨyi	'four and a half rupees'

This also applies to numerals above 'hundred'. These are formed up to two hundred with ḍɔḍ and ḍa:y (the same way as 'one and a half' and 'two and a half'), or in the following way:

akh hath tɨ pantsah	'one hundred and fifty'
zɨ hath tɨ pantsah	'two hundred and fifty'

In forming numbers above 'one hundred' and 'two hundred' sa:dɨ is added, or as in the case of 'one hundred' and two hundred' one may say

tso:r hath tɨ pantsah	'four hundred and fifty'

The process is the same for sa:s, lač̌h and karo:r.

4.2.9.1.2. Classifiers

The following items are used in two senses, first as *quantifiers*, marking definite or indefinite quantity, and second as *classifiers*.

In terms of their restrictions of occurrence they may be divided into the following sub-classes:

Class 1: Those items which are generally used with reference to vegetables, e.g.,

bod, e.g.,	*muǰi bod*	'a bundle of raddish'
	ha:kɨ bod	'a bundle of *ha:kh*'
g'əḍ, e.g.,	*nadɨr' g'əḍ*	'a bundle of lotus stem' (vegetable)
	mɔnǰi g'əḍ	'a bundle of a particular variety of root vegetable'
tho:p, e.g.,	*ha:kɨ tho:p*	'a bundle of *ha:kh*'
	muǰitho:p	'a bundle of raddish'
zanḍ, e.g.,	*sɔyizanḍ*	'wild growth of nettle'
	datɨr'zand	'wild growth of thornapple'

The term -*zanḍ* is used for vegetation in the same sense in which 'a bush' is used in English.

Note that *bod*, *g'əḍ* and *tho:p* are interchangeable depending on the size of the bundle of a vegetable.

The item *tul* is also used in this context but generally with reference to green vegetables, e.g., *akh ha:kɨ tul tra:vum* 'serve me (a) little quantity of *ha:kh*'.

Class 2: Those items which are used to classify objects other than vegetables.

bok, e.g., *metsi bok* 'a handful of earth'
dã:bok 'a handful of paddy'

han, e.g., *obrɨhan* 'a little cloud'

kor, e.g., *kũzɨkor* 'a bunch of keys'

mɔy, e.g., *va:vɨmɔy* 'a little wind'

Note that *mɔy* may also be used in the context of vegetables, e.g., *akh ha:kɨ mɔy dim* 'give me a little *ha:kh*', and in the context of liquids, *da:li mɔy gatshiyi* 'would you like a little *da:l*?'

mɔṭh, e.g., *metsi mɔṭh* 'a handful of earth'
tomlɨ mɔṭh 'a handful of rice'

phol, e.g., *batɨ phol* 'a little cooked rice'

tral, e.g., *nu:nɨ tral* 'a lump of salt'

Class 3: Those items which are used as quantifiers (measure words) with reference to cloth, e.g.,

-*tir*, e.g., *kapertɨr* 'a piece of cloth'
-*tilim*, e.g., *kapertilim* 'a piece of cloth'
-*čhal*, e.g., *kaparčhal* 'a piece of cloth'

Note that *tilim* and *čhal* may also be used with wood or metal, e.g., *hačitilim* 'a piece of wood', *hačičhal* 'a piece of wood'.

Class 4: Those items which are used as measure words with liquids, e g.,

ketɨrɨ, e g , *dɔdɨ ketɨrɨ* 'a drop of milk'

ph'or, e g , *dɔdɨ ph'or* 'a drop of milk'

dɔtsh, e g., *pã: dɔtsh* 'a handful of water'

thomb, e.g., *pã thomb* 'a handful of water'

Note that *čhakh*, *pũ:t* and *ratsh* may also be used in this context

Class 5: Those items which are used with non-liquids, e g ,

čhakh, e g , *dã: čhakh* 'a small quantity of paddy'

khenḍ, e g , *ši:ši khənḍ* 'a small piece of glass'

ph'akh, e g *mədre:riph'akh* 'a little sugar'

(This is generally used with powdery substances.)

p'ũ:t, e g., *a:t'p'ũ:t* 'a little flour'

ratsh, e g., *nu:nɨratsh* 'a little salt'

tsa:l, e g , *mədre:ritsa:l* 'a little quantity of sugar'

Class 6: Those nouns which refer to receptacles and may function as quantifiers or measure words.

ba:lti:n 'a bucket' , e g , *akh pã: ba:lti:n an* 'Bring one bucket of water.'

gaḍɨ 'a metal pot' e g , *zɨ dɔdi gəḍɨ di ši:las* 'Give Sheela two pots of milk.'

pəǰ 'a big willow basket', e g., *akh o:lav pəǰ ki:tis čhi*? 'How much does a basketful of potatoes cost?'

-phot 'a willow basket', e g., *zi dã: phət' ki:tis čhi*? 'How much do two basketfuls of paddy cost?'

The following items may also be used in this context:

bəstoor, 'a sack'; *kho:s* 'a cup; *tha:l* 'a plate'.

All the above items function as heads of noun phrases. They may be modified by numerals or other adjectives also. In certain contexts, the noun marking the object may be deleted, e.g.,

akh ha:ki bod dim or akh bod dim (cf 4.2.9.1.3. Class 1)

4 2.9 2 Variant Forms of Numerals

The following are the main variant forms of numerals

1. ak(h) 'one'
   - (i) akɨ, ɨ is added when ak(h) is followed by a decade number, e g , akɨvuh 'twenty one', akɨtrɨh 'thirty one';
   - (ii) əki, i is added to form ordinals, e g , əkim 'first'. There is no change when forming distributional numerals.
2. zɨ 'two'
   - (i) dɔyɨ, e g., dɔyɨtrɨh 'thirty-two', dɔyɨtə:Y̌ih 'forty-two'. It is also used with items marking turns, e g , dɔyɨlaṭi 'twice' or (dɔyiphiri);
   - (ii) du, e.g , duvanzah 'fifty-two', duhə:th 'sixty-two', dusatath 'seventy-two', dunamath 'ninety-two'. Note also duzongul 'two legged'.
   - (iii) zə:z has a 'distributional meaning (see 4.2.9.5.).
   - (iv) jo:rɨ 'twos' (also used as an indefinitizer).
3. tre 'three'
   - (i) tru, e g , truvah 'thirteen', truvanzah 'fifty-three', truhə:ṭh 'sixty-three', trusatath 'seventy-three', truši:th (treyɨši:th) 'eighty-three', trunamath 'ninety-three'.

(ii) tro, e.g trovuh 'twenty-three';

(iii) teyɨ, e.g , teyɨtrɨh 'thirty-three, teyɨtə:ǰih 'forty-three'. Note also truzongul 'three legged'.

4. tso:r 'four'

(i) tso, e.g., tsovuh 'twenty-four';

(ii) tsɔ, e.g., tsɔdah 'fourteen';

(iii) tsɔyi, e.g., tsɔyitrɨh 'thirty-four, tsɔyɨši:th 'eighty-four';

(iv) tsu, e.g., tsuvanzah 'fifty-four', tsuhə:ṭh 'sixty-four', tsusatath 'seventy-four', tsunamath 'ninety-four'.

Note also tsa:kh 'four' and tsogun 'four-fold'

5. pə̃:tsh 'five'

(i) pan, e.g., pandah 'fifteen;

(ii) pɨn, e.g., pɨntsɨh 'twenty-five';

(iii) pə̃:tsɨ, e.g. pə̃:tsɨtrɨh 'thirty-five', pə̃:tsɨtə:ǰih 'forty-five', pə̃:tsɨvanzah 'fifty-five', pə̃:tsɨhə:ṭh 'sixty-five', pə̃:tsɨsatath 'seventy-five', pə̃:tsɨši:th 'eighty-five', pə̃:tsɨnamath 'ninety-five'.

Note also panǰi 'a (group of) five'.

6. še 'six'

(i) šu, e.g., šurah 'sixteen', šuvanzah 'fifty-six', šuhə:ṭh 'sixty-six', šusatath 'seventy-six', šunamath 'ninety-six';

(ii) šat, e.g., šatɨvuh 'twenty-six';

(iii) šeyɨ, e.g., šeyɨtrɨh 'thirty-six', šeyɨtə:ǰih 'forty-six', šeyɨši:th 'eighty-six'.

7. sath 'seven'

(i) sa, e.g., sadah 'seventeen';

(ii) satoː, e.g., satoːvuh 'twenty-seven';

(iii) satɨ, e.g., satɨtrɨh 'thirty-seven', satɨtəːǰih 'forty-seven', satɨvenzah 'fifty-seven', satɨhəːṭh 'sixty-seven', satɨšiːth 'eighty-seven', satɨnamath 'ninety-seven'.

8. əːṭh 'eight'

(i) aṭho, e.g., aṭhoːvuh 'twenty-eight';

(ii) arɨ, e.g., arɨdah 'eighteen', arɨtrɨh 'thirty-eight', arɨteːǰih 'forty-eight', arɨvanzah 'fifty-eight', arɨheːṭh 'sixty-eight', arɨsatath 'seventy-eight', arɨšiːth 'eighty-eight', arɨnamath 'ninety-eight'.

9. nav 'nine'

(i) kunɨ, e.g., kunɨvuh 'nineteen', kunɨtrɨh 'twenty-nine', kunɨtəːǰih 'thirty-nine', kunɨvanzah 'forty-nine', kunɨhəːṭh 'fifty-nine', kunɨsatath 'sixty-nine, kunɨšiːth 'seventy-nine', kunɨnamath 'eighty-nine'.

10. Note also the following forms:

yakɨ 'one', duč 'two', truč 'three', tsuč 'four', panǰɨ 'five', šuč 'six', satɨ 'seven', əːṭhɨ 'eight', nəhlɨ 'nine', dəhlɨ 'ten'.

4.2.9.3. Numerals Marking Turns

The idea of turns such as once, twice, five times is conveyed by laṭi which is added to the cardinal numerals. Before laṭi the base numeral undergoes a change. A high front vowel precedes the suffix laṭi.

1. 'one' to 'nine'

aki laṭi	'once' or 'one time'
dɔyi laṭi	'twice' or 'two times'
treyi laṭi	'three times'
tsoːri laṭi	'four times'
pə̃ːtsi laṭi	'five times'
šeyi laṭi	'six times'
sati laṭi	'seven times'
əːṭhi laṭi	'eight times'
navi laṭi	'nine times'

2. 'tens'

dahi laṭi	'ten times'
vuhi laṭi	'twenty times'
trɨhɨ laṭi	'thirty times'
tsatǰihi laṭi	'forty times'
pantsaːhi laṭi	'fifty times
šeːṭhi laṭi	'sixty times'
satɨti laṭi	'seventy times'
šiːti laṭi	'eighty times'
namɨti laṭi	'ninety times'

3. 'hundred' and above

hati laṭi	'hundred times'
sa: si laṭi	'thousand times'
lačhi laṭi	'one hundred thousand times'
karo:ri laṭi	'one hundred lac times'

4.2.9.4. Multiplicative Numerals

gun or gon is added to the cardinal numbers to form multiplicative or relative numerals. The base numerals also undergo certain changes (cf. numerals 1-6).

akh	ogun	'one time (as much)'
zɨ	dogun	'two times (as much)'
tre	trogun	'three times (as much)'
tso: r	tsogun	'four times (as much)'
pə̃: ts	pə̃: tsɨgon	'five times (as much)'
še	šogun	'six times (as much)'
sath	satɨgon	'seven times (as much)'
ə: ṭh	ɘ: ṭhɨgon	'eight times (as much)'
nav	navɨgon	'nine times (as much)'
dəh	dɘhgon	'ten times (as much)'

Note also the following:

1. If the base ends in a consonant gon is added (exceptions akh and tso: r);
2. If the base ends in a vowel gun is added; and
3. In certain environments there is an 'intervening' vowel /ɨ/ between the base and gon, e.g., satɨgon 'seven times (as much)'.

4.2.9.5. Distributive Numerals

Distributive numerals are formed by reduplicating cardinal numerals.

yiman di akh akh tsü:ṭh	'give them one apple each'
zɨ zɨ tsü:ṭh' di yiman	'give them two apples each'
tso:r tso:r kitabɨ di human	'give them four books each'

Note that for *zɨ zɨ* 'two each' an alternate item *zɨ:z* may be used (e.g., *zɨ zɨ tsü:ṭh di yiman* or *zi:z tsü:ṭh di yiman*).

4.2.9.6. Numeral Indefinitizers

A detailed treatment of indefinitizers is given in 4.7. In this section we shall briefly discuss those indefinitizers which are used with numerals. A numeral may be indefinitized by adding *marɨ* to a cardinal number. There are some exceptions to this, especially up to number 5 and above 'hundred'.

4.2.9.6.1. '*one' to 'five*'

akhah	'about one'
ǰo:rah	'about two'
ta:rɨ	'about three'
tsombrɨ	'about four'
pə̃:šɨ	'about five'

4.2.9.6.2. 'six to 'ten'

še mari̠	'about six'
sati̠ mari̠	'about seven'
ə: thi̠ mari̠	'about eight'
navi̠ mari̠	'about nine'
dəh mari̠	'about ten'

4.2.9.6.3. 'hundred' and above

In order to indefinitize hath 'hundred', sa:s 'thousand', lačh 'one hundred thousand' and karo:r 'one hundred lacs', khanḍ is added after the number.

hathkhanḍ	'about a hundred'
sa:skhanḍ	'about a thousand'
lačh khanḍ	'about a lac'
karo:r khanḍ	'about a crore'

bəd' is also used with hath, sa:s, lačh and karo:r.

hati̠ bəd'	'hundreds' (indefinite)
sa:si̠ bəd'	'thousands' (indefinite)
lačhi bəd'	'lacs' (indefinite)
karo:ri̠ bəd'	'hundred lacs' (indefinite)

4.2.9.7. Numeral Compounds as Indefinitizers

Numeral compounds may also be used as indefinitizers. Consider the following:

1. 'one' to 'ten'

akh zɨ	'about one or two'
zɨ tre	'about two or three'
zɨ tso:r	'about two to four'
tso:r pə̃:tsch	'about four or five'
pə̃:tsh še	'about five or six'
pə̃:tsh dəh	'about five to ten'
še sath	'about six or seven'
sath ə̃:ṭh	'about seven or eight'
ə̃:ṭh nav	'about eight or nine'
ə̃:ṭh dəh	'about eight to ten'

2. 'ten to 'hundred'

dəh kah	'about ten or eleven'
dəh pandah (or vuh)	'about ten to fifteen (twenty)'
vuh pɨntsɨh	'about twenty to twenty-five'
vuh trɨh	'about twenty to thirty'
trɨh pə̃:tsɨtrɨh	'about thirty to thirty-five'
trɨh tsatǰih	'about thirty to forty'
tsatǰih pantsah	'about forty to fifty'
pantsah še:ṭh	'about fifty to sixty'
še:ṭh satath	'about sixty to seventy'
satath ši:th	'about seventy to eighty'
ši:th namath	'about eighty to ninety'

For hath 'hundred' the reduplicative item šath may be added, e.g., hath šath lu:kh a:san tati 'There will be about a hundred persons there.'

4.3. Pronouns

4.3.1. Characteristics of Pronouns

The following characteristics of pronouns separate them from nouns:

(a) they form a closed-system as opposed to nouns which form an open set;

(b) they may be sub-classified not only on the basis of number and gender, but also on the basis of person;

(c) they cannot be treated as purely lexical items; and

(d) they operate in a three term system in singular (see 4.3.3.1.).

4.3.2. Inflection

Pronouns are marked for number, gender, person and case.

4.3.3. Classes of Pronouns

Pronouns have the following sub-classes:

1.	Personal	(see 4.3.3.1.)
2.	Demonstrative	(see 4.3.3.2.)
3.	Interrogative	(see 4.3.3.3.)
4.	Relative	(see 4.3.3.4.)
5.	Possessive	(see 4.3.3.5.)
6.	Reflexive	(see 4.3.3.6.)
7.	Reciprocal	(see 4.3.3.7.)
8.	Indefinite	(see 4.3.3.8.)
9.	Distributive	(see 4.3.3.9.)

4.3.3.1. Personal Pronouns

There are the following personal pronouns.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st person	bɨ	əs'
2nd person	tsɨ	toh'
3rd person	(su) (hu) (ti)	(hum) (tim)

In the singular the feminine forms are sɔ and hɔ, and in the plural there is one form timɨ.

Examples:

1. bɨ čhus kh'ava:n batɨ

'I am eating food.'

1a. əs' čhi kh'ava:n batɨ

'We are eating food.'

2. tsɨ čhukh kh'ava:n batɨ

'You (sing.) are eating food.'

2a. toh' čhivɨ kh'ava:n batɨ

'You (plu.) are eating food.'

3. su čhu kh'ava:n batɨ

'He is eating food.'

3a. tim čhi kh'ava:n batɨ

'They are eating food.'

4. sɔ čhi kh'ava:n batɨ

'She is eating food.'

4a. timɨ čhi kh'ava:n batɨ

'They are eating food.'

4.3.3.1.1. Declension of Personal Pronouns (1st and 2nd person)

Person	Nominative		Dative/Ablative/Agentive	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st person	bɨ	əs'	me	asi
2nd person	tsɨ	toh'	tse	tɔhi

4.3.3.1.2. Neuter Form of 3rd Person ti

All pronouns in the 3rd person (singular) have a form which is used for inanimate objects and which is termed neuter, i.e., ti (singular), tim (plural). Consider the following:

me vučh ra:th akh philim sɔ ə:s ǰa:n

'Yesterday I saw a movie; it was good.'

tsɨ gatsh tot, ti čhu ča:ni khə:trɨ ǰa:n

'You go there; it is good for you.'

Note that ti is not used for an object which is within sight; yi is used in such contexts.

4.3.3.1.3. Declension of *su/ti*

Case	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	su	tim	so	timɨ	ti	tim
Genitive	təm'sund	timanhund	təm'sund	timanhund	tam'uk	timanhund
Dative	tamis	timan	tamis	timan	tath	timan
Ablative	tami	timav	tami	timav	tami	timav
Agentive	təm'	timav	təm'	timav	təm'	timav

The genitive has another form *tasund* (plural, *tihund*). Consider the following:

> *tihund patah čhuvɨ tohi ya:d*
>
> 'Do you remember their address?'
>
> *tasund patah čhuvɨ tohi ya:d*
>
> 'Do you remember his address?'

The declension of *yi* and *hu* is given in the sub-section on Demonstrative Pronouns (see 4.3.3.2.3.).

4.3.3.1.4. *timanhund* and *tihund*

It seems that in the plural the difference between genitive *timanhund* and *tihund* is only stylistic.

4.3.3.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

There is a three term system of demonstrative pronouns in Kashmiri which is different from other North Indian languages (e.g., Hindi-Urdu) which have a two term system. The three demonstrative pronouns are yi 'this', hu 'that' (within sight) and su/ti 'that' (out of sight). These are inflected for number, gender and case (see the Table below).

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
yi	yim	yi	yimɨ
hu	hum	ho	humɨ
su/ti	tim	sɔ/ti	timɨ

4.3.3.2.1. System of Demonstrative Pronouns

The distribution of the above pronouns is as follows:

1. yi is used in the sense of 'this' (Hindi-Urdu yəh) for an object which is within sight (e.g., yi kitaːb dim 'pass me this book').
2. hu for 'that' (Hindi-Urdu vəh) which is within sight (hu thaːl dim 'pass me that eating plate').
3. su for 'that' which is not necessarily within sight (su kul oːs thod 'that tree was tall').

4.3.3.2.2. Declension of Demonstrative Pronouns

yi 'this', 'he', 'she'

Case	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	yi	yim	yi	yimɨ	yi	yim
Genitive	yem'sund	yimanhund	yem'sund	yimanhund	yem'uk	yimanhund
Dative	yemis	yiman	yemis	yiman	yeth	yiman
Ablative	yem'	yimav	yemi	yimav	yem'	yimav
Agentive	yem'	yimav	yemi	yimav	yem	yimav

hu 'that', 'he', 'it'; hɔ 'she'

Case	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	hu	hum	hɔ	humɨ	hu	hum
Genitive	hum'uk	humanhund	hum'uk	humanhund	hum'uk	humanhund
Dative	humis	human	humis	human	huth	human
Ablative	humi	humav	humi	humav	humi	humav
Agentive	hum'	humav	humi	humav	humi	humav

The declension of su/ti has already been given in the sub-section on Personal Pronouns (see 4.3.3.1.3.).

4.3.3.2.3. am 'this' and nɔm 'these' forms

The am forms, i.e., am (fem. amɨ), amanhund (gen.), amav (abl./agen.) are often used in literature. They are, however, fast dying in Sringar Kashmiri.

The forms *nɔm* (fem. *nɔmɨ*), *nɔmanhund*, *nɔman*, *nɔmav* are used by a restricted number of people in Srinagar Kashmiri. In village speech, however, these are shared both by Hindus and Muslims.

4.3.3.3. Interrogative Pronouns

4.3.3.3.1. Structural Position of Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns generally occur at the clause initial position. The position may, however, be changed for emphasis or for stylistic reasons. Consider the following:

kus gav tot

'Who went there?'

k'a: gatshi: tse

'What do you want?'

Note the change in the position of the interrogative pronoun in the following:

tot kus gav

tse k'a: gatshi:

gav kus tot

gatshi: k'a: tse

k'a:(h) is used roughly in the sense of *what* in English or *kya:* in Hindi-Urdu.

4.3.3.3.2. Declension of Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are inflected for number, gender and case.

kus 'who'

Case	Masculine		Feminine		Neuter	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	kus	kam	kɔsɨ	kamɨ	k'ah	k'ah
Genitive	kəm'sund	kɨman~~k~~hund	kəm'sund	kɨmanhund	kam'uk	kɨman~~k~~hund
Dative	kəmis	kɨman	kəmis	kɨman	kath	kɨman
Ablative	kami	kamav	kami	kamav	kami	kamav
Agentive	kəm'	kamav	kami	kama	kəm'	kama

4.3.3.4. Relative Pronouns

The relative pronoun yus, when followed by its correlative form, occurs as a relative clause marker. yus has the following forms:

Masculine		Feminine	
Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
yus	yim	yɔsɨ	yimɨ

Examples:

su ləḍkɨ yus ka:lǰi para:n čhu gav ǰom

'(The) student who studies in (the) college left for Jammu.'

yim tha:l tati čhi tim ən yu:r'

'(The) eating plates which are there, bring them here.'

so ku:r yɔsɨ tati ə:s peyi b'ama:r

'(The) girl who was there got sick.'

timan zana:nan diyiv a:lav yimɨ tati čhi

'Call those women who are there.'

4.3.3.4.1. Declension of Relative Pronouns

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	yus	yim	yɔsɨ	yimɨ
Genitive	yem'sund	yimanhund	yem'sɨnz	yimanhund
Dative	yəmis	yiman	yəmis	yiman
Ablative	yemi	yimav	yemi	yimav
Agentive	yem'	yimav	yemi	yimav

4.3.3.5. Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns have the following forms:

Head of NP / Possessive Pronoun	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
1st per. sing.	m'o:n	mɘ:n'	mə:n'	m'a:ni
2nd per. sing.	čo:n	čɘ:n'	čɘ:n'	ča:ni
3rd per. sing.	təm'sund	tihund (timanhund)	təm'sɨnz	tihɨnzɨ (timanhɨnzɨ)
1st per. plu.	so:n	sɘ:n'	sə:n'	sa:ni
2nd per. plu.	čo:n	čɘ:n'	čɘ:n'	ča:ni
2nd per. plu. (honorific)	tuhund	tuhɨnd'	tuhɨnz	tuhɨnzɨ
3rd per. plu.	tihund	tihɨnd'	tihɨnz	tihɨnzɨ

4.3.3.5.1. Declension of Possessive Pronouns

1st person (sing.): m'o:n 'my'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	m'o:n	mə:n'	mə:n'	m'a:ni
Dative	m'ə:nis	m'a:n'an	m'a:ni	m'a:ni
Ablative	m'a:ni	m'a:n'av	m'a:ni	m'a:nav
Agentive	mə:n'	m'a:n'av	m'a:ni	m'a:n'av

2nd person (sing.): čo:n 'your'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	čo:n	čə:n'	čə:n'	ča:ni
Dative	čə:nis	ča:n'an	ča:ni	ča:ni
Ablative	ča:ni	ča:n'av	ča:ni	ča:n'av
Agentive	čə:n'	ča:n'av	ča:ni	ča:n'av

3rd person (sing.): təm'sund 'his'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	təm'sund	tihund (timanhund)	təm'sɨnz	timanhənzɨ
Dative	təm'sɨndis	təm'sɨnd'an	təm'sɨnzɨ	timanhənzɨ
Ablative	təm'sɨndi	təm'sɨnd'av	təm'sɨnzɨ	timanhənzɨ
Agentive	təm'sɨnd'	təm'sɨnd'av	təm'sɨnzɨ	timanhɨnzɨ

1st person (plu.): so:n 'our'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	so:n	sə:n'	sə:n'	sa:ni
Dative	sə:nis	sa:n'an	sa:ni	sa:n'an
Ablative	sa:ni	sa:n'av	sa:ni	sa:n'av
Agentive	sə:n'	sa:n'av	sa:ni	sa:n'av

2nd person (plu.): tuhund 'your'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	tuhund	tuhɨnd'	tuhunz	tuhɨnzɨ
Dative	tuhɨndis	tuhund'an	tuhunzi	tuhunzan
Ablative	tuhundi	tuhund'av	tuhunzi	tuhunzan
Agentive	tuhund'	tuhund'av	tuhunzi	tuhunzan

3rd person (plu.): tihund 'their'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	tihund	tihɨnd'	tihɨnz	tihɨnzɨ
Dative	tihɨndis	tihɨnd'an	tihɨnzɨ	tihɨnzan
Ablative	tihɨndi	tihɨndav	tihɨnzi	tihɨnzav
Agentive	tihɨnd'	tihɨnd'av	tihɨnzi	tɨhɨnzav

4.3.3.5.2. Reflexive Possessive *panun*

The reflexive possessive *panun* occurs when the referent of the possessor noun and the referent of the noun head of the subject of the sentence are identical. Consider the following:

me tsəṭ panɨn' čiṭh'
'I tore my letter.'

so gatshi panun garɨ
'She will go to her own home.'

In number, gender and case, *panun* agrees with the noun head (possessed noun). By and large it functions in the same way as Hindi-Urdu *apana*. It is inflected for number, gender and case.

4.3.3.5.3. Declension of *panun*

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	panun	panɨn'	panɨn'	panɨni
Dative	panɨnis	panɨn'an	panɨni	panɨni
Ablative	panɨni	panɨn'av	panɨni	panɨn'av
Agentive	panɨn'	panɨn'av	panɨni	panɨn'av

4.3.3.6. Emphatic Reflexive

4.3.3.6.1. Emphatic Reflexive Items

The item *pa:nɨ* functions as an emphatic reflexive.

4.3.3.6.2. Position of *pa:nɨ*

The preferred position of occurrence of *pa:nɨ* is after the verb, e.g.,

me kh'av pa:nɨ batɨ
'I myself ate food.'

If it occurs immediately after the subject, an emphasis marker *ay* is placed between the subject and *pa:nɨ*.

1. *bɨ kh'amɨ pa:nɨ batɨ*
   'I myself will eat food.'
2. *meay pa:nɨ kh'av batɨ*
   'I (emphatic) ate food by myself.'
3. *ra:man kh'av pa:nɨ batɨ*
   'Ram ate food himself.'
4. *ra:manay pa:nɨ kh'av batɨ*
   'Ram (emphatic) ate food himself.'

Note, however, that the subject is not obligatory. In such cases the subject marking suffix is present in the verb, e.g.,

pa:nɨ kh'o:m
'I myself ate.'

pa:nɨ is also used in certain fixed collocations, e.g., pə:n'pa:nɨ as in

ra:man kər pə:n'pa:nas kharə:bi:

'Ram was responsible for the harm himself.'

4.3.3.7. Reciprocal Pronouns

The reciprocal pronouns akhəkis and pa:nɨvɨn' are used roughly in the sense of each other and one another, e.g.,

tohi pazi akhəkis madath karun

'You should help each other.'

ba:yan pazinɨ pa:nɨvɨn' ladə:y karɨn'

'Brothers should not fight among themselves.'

4.3.3.8. Indefinite Pronouns

There are two indefinite pronouns, i.e., kãh (plu. kẽh) 'some' and kãhtshah 'someone' or 'something', e.g.,

tati čha: kãh maka:nɨ khə:li:

'Is there any house available?'

tsɨ h'akhɨ kẽh tsoči

'Will you buy some bread?'

az gotsh kãhtshah yun

'I wish someone would come today.'

4.3.3.8.1. Declension of Indefinite Pronouns

kə̃h 'someone', 'anyone'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	kə̃h	kẽh	kə̃h	kẽh
Genitive	kəː sihund	kəː sihɨnd'	kə̃ː sihənz	kə̃ː sihɨnzɨ
Dative	kə̃ː si	kə̃ː tsan	kə̃ː tsan	kə̃ː tsan
Ablative	kə̃ː si	kə̃ː tsan	kə̃ː tsan	kə̃ː tsan
Agentive	kə̃ː si	kə̃ː tsav	kə̃ː si	kə̃ː tsav

Note also the fixed collocations such as kɨhəːn' 'none at all', and kunikə̃h 'someone', 'anyone', e.g.,

> əs' yeli tot gəyi tati oːs nɨ kɨhəːn'
>
> 'When we went there, there was none (there).'
>
> kunikə̃h čhuvɨnaː məːrhas hoː
>
> 'Isn't there anyone, anywhere! I am being destroyed.'

kunikə̃h is generally used in desperation.

4.3.3.9. Distributive Pronouns

The process of reduplication is used to form distributive pronouns, e.g.,

yus/yus

yus yus yiyi tamis tamis me:li yana:mɨ

'Those who will come will get prizes.'

yem'sund/yem'sund

yem'sund yem'sund garɨ yeti č̌hu su su diyiv patah

'Those whose houses are here should give their addresses.'

kə̃:si/kə̃:si

agar nɨ tse kh'on č̌huy kə̃:si kə̃:si bə:gɨr

'If you don't want to eat it, distribute it to some people.'

4.3.3.8.1. Declension of Indefinite Pronouns

kā̃h 'someone', 'anyone'

Case	Masculine		Feminine	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
Nominative	kā̃h	kē̃h	kā̃h	kē̃h
Genitive	kə: sihund	kə: sihɨnd'	kə̃: sihənz	kə̃: sihɨnzɨ
Dative	kə̃: si	kə̃: tsan	kə̃: tsan	kə̃: tsan
Ablative	kə̃: si	kə̃: tsan	kə̃: tsan	kə̃: tsan
Agentive	kə̃: si	kə̃: tsav	kə̃: si	kə̃: tsav

Note also the fixed collocations such as *kɨhɘ:n'* 'none at all', and *kunikā̃h* 'someone', 'anyone', e.g.,

> *əs' yeli tot gəyi tati o: s nɨ kɨhɘ:n'*
>
> 'When we went there, there was none (there).'
>
> *kunikā̃h čhuvɨna: mə: rhas ho:*
>
> 'Isn't there anyone, anywhere! I am being destroyed.'

kunikā̃h is generally used in desperation.

4 4 Verbs

4 4 1 Inflection

A finite verb may be inflected for the categories of tense (see 4.4.3.), gender (see 4 4.4.), number (see 4 4 4), person (see 4 4 5), and status (see 4.4 6)

4 4 2 Tense Markers

There are three tenses, i e ,

1. past tense (tse kho:th ṭhu:l 'you ate an egg')
2. present tense (tsi čhukh kh'ava:n . ṭhu:l 'you are eating an egg').
3. future tense (tsɨ kh'akh ṭhu:l 'you will eat an egg').

4.4.3. Formation of Tenses

The present tense is formed by čhu '(he) is', form of the verb a:sun 'to be'. The past and future tenses are formed by the root a:s.

4.4.3.1. Past Tense

In the past tense the following three distinctions are made:

Past 1: This may be called simple past (or proximate past) and refers to an act which has already taken place in the near past, me khav 'I ate'.

Past 2: This may be called indefinite past in which the time specification is not clear, me kheyo:v 'I ate'.

Past 3: This refers to remote past, me kheye:yo:v 'I had eaten'.

4.4.3.1.1. Markers of Past

The markers of the three categories in the past are given in the following table.

1st person

Category	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Past 1	-v	-yi	-yi	-yi
Past 2	-yo:v	-ye:yi	-ye:yi	-ye:yi
Past 3	-ye:yo:v	-ye:ye:yi	-ye:ye:yi	-ye:ye:yi

Notice that in the feminine plural there is no change.

Examples:

Category	'I ate food'	'I ate bread'
	Masculine	Feminine
Past 1	me kh'av bati̠	me kheyi tsoṭ
Past 2	me kheyo:v bati̠	me kheye:yi tsoṭ
Past 3	me kheye:yo:v bati̠	me kheye:ye:yi tsoṭ

2nd person

Category	'You ate food' Masculine	'You ate bread' Feminine
Past 1	tse kh'oːth bati	tse kheyath tsoṭ
Past 2	tse kheyoːth bati	tse kheyeːyath tsoṭ
Past 3	tse kheyeːyoːth bati	tse kheyeːyeːyath tsoṭ

3rd person

The third person forms are the same as the first person.

4 4.3 1.2 Past Tense: Conjugation

'I was'

Masculine	
Singular	Plural
bi oːsus	əs' əːs'
tsi oːsukh	toh' əːsivi
su oːs	tim əːs'
Feminine	
bi əːsis	əs' aːsi
tsi əːsikh	toh' aːsivi
sɔ əːs	timi aːsi

4.4.3.1.2.1. Past Continuous: 'I was eating' (Masculine)

Singular	Plural
bi̥ o:sus kh'ava:n	ɘs' ə:s' kh'ava:n
tsi̥ o:sukh kh'ava:n	toh' ɘ:sivi̥ kh'ava:n
su¨o:s kh'ava:n	tim ə:s' kh'ava:n

4.4.3.1.2.2. Perfective: 'I ate'

Notice that the following forms are used with the oblique forms of pronouns. In the oblique forms of pronouns only the third person, singular, feminine form changes.

'I ate' (Masculine verb)

Singular	Plural
me kh'av	asi kh'av
tse kh'o:th	tɔhi kh'ovi̥
təm' kh'av	timav kh'av

'I ate' (Feminine verb)

Singular	Plural
me kheyi	asi kheyi
tse kheyath	tɔhi kheyivi̥
təm' kheyi	timav kheyi

4.4.3.1.2.3. Extended Perfective: 'I have eaten' (with čhu)

Masculine	
Singular	Plural
me čhu kh'o:mut	asi čhu kh'o:mut
tse čhuth kh'o:mut	tɔhi čhuvɨ kh'o:mut
təm' čhu kh'o:mut	tɨmav čhu kh'o:mut

Feminine	
Singular	Plural
me čhi khe:mɨts	asi čhi khe:mɨtsɨ
tse čhath khe:mɨts	tɔhi čhavɨ khe:mɨtsɨ
təm' o:s kh'o:mut	timav o:s kh'o:mut

The third person singular pronoun has another feminine form, tami.

4.4.3.1.2.4. Extended Perfective: 'I have eaten' (with o:s)

Masculine	
Singular	Plural
me o:s kh'o:mut	asi o:s kh'o:mut
tse o:suth kh'o:mut	tɔhi o:sɨvɨ kh'o:mut
təm' o:s kh'o:mut	timav o:s kh'o:mut

Feminine	
Singular	Plural
me e:s khe:mịts	asi a:sị khe:mịtsị
tse e:sịth khe:mịts	tɔhi a:sịvị khe:mịtsị
təm' e:s khe:mịts	timav a:sị khe:mịtsị

'I have gone'

Masculine	
Singular	Plural
bị o:sus go:mut	əs' ə:s' gə:mịt'
tsị o:sukh go:mut	toh' ə:sịvị gə:mịt'
su o:s go:mut	tim ə:s' gə:mịt'

Feminine	
Singular	Plural
bị ə:sịs gə:mịts	əs' a:sị gə:mịtsị
tsị e:sịkh gə:mịts	toh' a:sịvị gə:mịtsị
sɔ e:s ge:mịts	timị a:sị gə:mịtsị

In intransitive verbs the masculine and feminine forms of the participle are different, and both the auxiliary and participle are inflected for number and gender.

4.4.3.1.2.5. Extended Perfective with Pronominal Suffixes

'I have eaten'

Singular	Plural
kh'o:mut čhum	kh'o:mut čhu
kh'o:mut čhuth	kh'o:mut čhuvɨ
kh'o:mut čhun	kh'o:mut chukh

'I had chewed'

Singular	Plural
tso:pɨmut o:sum	tso:pɨmut o:s
tso:pɨmut o:suth	tso:pɨmut o:sɨvɨ
tso:pɨmut o:sun	tso:pɨmut o:sukh

4.4.3.1.2.6. Past Conditional (with doubt)

'I could have gone'

Masculine	
Singular	Plural
bɨ a:sɨhə: go:mut	əs' a:sɨhə:v gə:mɨt'
tsɨ a:sɨhə:kh go:mut	toh' ə:sihi:v g ɑ:mɨt'
su a:sihe: go:mut	tim a:sɨhə:n gə:mɨt'

Feminine	
Singular	Plural
bɨ a:sɨhə: gəmɨts	əs' a:sɨhə:v gə:mɨtsɨ
tsɨ a:sɨhə:kh gə:mɨts	toh' ə:sihi:v gə:mɨtsɨ
sɔ a:sihe: gə:mɨts	timɨ a:sɨhə:n gə:mɨtsɨ

'I tried to do'

Masculine	
Singular	Plural
me kar'o: v	asi kar'o: v
tse kar'o: th	tɔhi kar'o: vɨ
təm' kar'o: v	timav kar'o: v

4.4.3.2. Present Tense

It has been mentioned earlier (see 4.4.3.) that the present tense is formed by čhu '(he) is', a form of the verb a: sun 'to be'.

4.4.3.2.1. Auxiliary Items

All the auxiliary items have masculine and feminine forms. There are the following forms of the auxiliary items:

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
chu	chi	cha	cha(i)
chus	chi	chas	cha(i)
o: s	ɵ: s	ɵ: s	a: sɨ

Note that in the feminine cha and chi are used in free-variation in the plural.

4.4.3.2.1.1. Present Tense: Conjugation

Masculine	
Singular	Plural
bɨ čhus 'I am'	əs' čhi 'we are'
tsɨ čhukh 'you are'	toh' čhivɨ 'you are'
su čhu 'he is'	tim čhi 'they are'

Feminine	
Singular	Plural
bɨ čhas	əs' čhi
tsɨ čhakh	toh' čhavɨ
sɔ čhi	timɨ čha

4.4.3.2.1.1.1. Present Continuous: 'I am eating'

Masculine		
Singular		Plural
bɨ čhus kh'ava:n	'I am eating'	əs' čhi kh'ava:n
tsɨ čhukh kh'ava:n	'you are eating'	toh' čhivɨ kh'ava:n
su čhu kh'ava:n	'he is eating'	tim čhi kh'ava:n

Feminine		
Singular		Plural
bɨ čhas kh'ava:n		əs' čhi(a) kh'ava:n
tsɨ čhakh kh'ava:n		toh' čhavɨ kh'ava:n
sɔ čhi kh'ava:n		timɨ čha kh'ava:n

4.4.3.3. Future Tense: 'I shall be'

Masculine	
Singular	Plural
bɨ a:sɨ	əs' a:sav
tsɨ a:sakh	toh' ə:siv
su a:si	tim a:san

Feminine	
Singular	Plural
bɨ a:sɨ	əs' a:sav
tsɨ a:sakh	toh' ə:siv
sɔ a:si	timɨ a:san

4.4.3.3.1. Simple Future: 'I shall walk'

Masculine	
Singular	Plural
bɨ pakɨ	əs' pakav
tsɨ pakakh	toh' pəkiv
su paki	tim pakan

In the feminine form the third person (singular and plural) pronouns change to sɔ and timɨ respectively.

4.4.4. Gender and Number

In gender the verb agrees with masculine and feminine. In number the choice is between singular and plural.

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
čhus	čhi	čhas	čhi(a)
čhukh	čhivɨ	čhakh	čhavɨ
čhu	čhi	čhi	čha

4.4.5. Person

In person the concord is as follows:

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	bɨ čhus	əs' čhi	bɨ čhas	əs' čhi
2nd	tsɨ čhukh	toh' čhivɨ	tsɨ čhakh	toh' čhavɨ
3rd	su čhu	tim čhi	sɔ čhi	timɨ čha

4.4.5.1. Person-Marking Suffixes

The following person-marking suffixes are used with an auxiliary verb.

Person	Masculine		Feminine	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	us	i	as	a
2nd	kh	ivɨ	akh	avɨ
3rd	u	i	i	a

The following are illustrative:

Masculine Singular	
bị čhus čhala:n	'I am washing'
tsị čhukh čhala:n	'You are washing'
su čhu čhala:n	'He is washing'

Masculine Plural	
əs' čhi čhala:n	'We are washing'
toh' čhivị čhala:n	'You are washing'
tim čhi čhala:n	'They are washing'

Feminine Singular	
bị čhas čhala:n	'I am washing'
tsị čhakh čhala:n	'You are washing'
sɔ čhi čhala:n	'She is washing'

Feminine Plural	
əs' čha čhala:n	'We are washing'
toh' čhavị čhala:n	'You are washing'
timị čha čhala:n	'They are washing'

4.4.6. Status

Status is marked by using the plural forms of verbs and pronouns. The use of singular or plural forms marks the following types of dichotomy:

(i) honorific/non-honorific
(ii) polite/non-polite
(iii) senior/non-senior
(iv) elder/non-elder

Consider the following:

tse kh'o:th	'you ate'	(non-honorific/masculine/singular)
tɔhi kh'ovi	'you ate'	(honorific/masculine)
tse kh'o:th	'you ate'	(non-honorific/feminine/singular)
tɔhi kh'ovi	'you ate'	(honorific/feminine)

4.5 Adverbs

4.5.1 Classes of Adverbs

Adverbs may be grouped into two classes on the basis of their distribution.

4.5.1.1. Class 1: These items function essentially in adverbial positions and do not belong to any other word-class, e.g.,

yeti	'here'
tati	'there'
pəz'pə:ṭh'	'really'

These adverbs may occur either in sentence initial or sentence final position, or between a verb and a complement. Consider the following examples:

me vuc̆h tati akh insa:n

'I saw a person there.'

The position of tati may be changed as follows:

1. akh insa:n vuc̆h me tati

1a. tati vuc̆h me akh insa:n

2. ra:man vuc̆h pəz'pəṭh' akh insa:n tati

'Ram really saw a person there.'

2a. akh insa:n vuc̆h ra:man pəz'pə:ṭh tati

2b. pəz.pə:ṭh' vuc̆h ra:man akh insa:n tati

4.5.1.2. Class 2: These items belong to other word-classes but have an adverbial function also. It includes a number of postpositional phrases, nouns and adjectives. Consider the following:

su čhu paka:n ho:ši sa:n

'He walks with care (carefully).'

tsɨ ənɨzi za:mut d.d khə:sis k'ath

'You should bring the yogurt in a cup.'

ra:mas dizi pə̃:si phi:sɨ khə:trɨ

'You should give Ram money for the fee.'

tse chuyi khə:sis manz kẽh ras

'Do you have any gravy in the cup?'

ši:lun maka:nɨ čhunɨ ḍa:kha:nas niš

'Sheela's house is not near the post office.'

bɨ h'akɨ nɨ va:pas yith d.n dohan ta:m

'I shall not be able to return within two days.'

4.5.2. Semantic Domain of Adverbs

Adverbs may be divided into the following groups in terms of contexts in which they can function.

4.5.2.1. Adverbs of Direction

buṭhi	'in front of'
patɨ	'after'
p'aṭhɨ	'above'
bɔnɨ	'below'
yapa:ri	'on this side'

4.5.2.1.1. Directional use of -kun

-kun may be used in the following senses:

(i) $N_{gen} + kun$

ra:mas kun	'towards Ram'
na:vi kun	'towards (the) boat'
kulis kun	'towards (the) tree'
mo:ṭras kun	'towards (the) automobile'

(ii) $Adv._{Loc} + kun$

path kun	'backwards'
brõ:ṭh kun	'frontwards'
kho:(h)vur kun	'leftwards'
dəčhun kun	'rightwards'

Note also the following uses:

ho:r kun	'towards that direction'
to:r kun	'towards that direction'
yo:r kun	'towards this direction'
ko:r kun	'towards what (which direction)'

4.5.2.2. Adverbs of Manner

ǰalǰal	'quickly'
va:rɨva:rɨ	'slowly'
yakh dam	'suddenly'

4.5.2.3. Adverbs of Place

apa:ri	'across'
bɔnɨ	'below'

buthi	'in front of'
du: r	'far'
n'əbrɨ	'outside'
hut'ath	'there'
niš	'near'
path	'after'
p'aṭhɨ	'on'
sɨ: t'	'alongside'
tal	'under'
yapa: ri	'on this side'
yet'ath	'here'

4.5.2.4. Adverbs of Quality

na: ka: rɨ	'bad'
khara: b	'bad'
bad	'bad'
v'oṭh	'fat'
zə: v'ul	'slim'
hokhɨmut	'skinny' or 'dried up'
ǰa: n	'good'

4.5.2.5. Adverbs of Quantity

kam	'a little' or 'less'
ḍe: r	'heap'
pũ: t	'a little'
ratsh	'very little'
s'aṭhah	'much'

varɨyah	'much'
z'a:dɨ	'more'

4.5.2.6. Adverbs of Time

ə:khɨr	'in the end'
az	'today'
azkal	'these days'
dohoy	'daily'
gɔḍɨ	'first'
pagah	'tomorrow'
brõ:ṭh	'before'
patɨ	'afterwards'
prath dɔh	'every day'
prath vizi	'every time'
ra:th	'yesterday'
suli	'early'
t'uthuy	'at that very moment'
yeli	'when'
yuthuy	'as soon as'

4.5.3 Interrogative Adverbs

Among others, the interrogative items listed below function in an adverbial sense.

ku:t	'how much' (mas. sing.)
kar	'when'
k'a:zɨ	'why'
kapə:r'	'in which direction', 'how'

kat'ath	'where'
kathk'ath	'in what (receptacle)'
kəmissɨː t' (kassɨː t')	'with whom'
koː rkun	'in which direction'
kithɨpeː ṭh'	'in what way'
kaskun	'towards whom' (sing.)
kɨmankun	'towards whom' (plu.)

The above items may also be used in an exclamatory sense. In such use the interrogative item shows surprise or intensity and also gets emphatic stress.

tim kɨː t' thəd' čhi

'How tall they are!'

timɨ kəː tsah sɔndar čha

'How beautiful they are!'

4.5.4 Compound Adverbs

As opposed to single item adverbs, compound adverbs are those items which involve either affixation, compounding or reduplication.

tamipatɨ	'after that'
dɔhoy dɔhoy	'everyday'
roː ŧ (rəː ŧs) kaː li	'nightly'
endrɨ n'abrɨ	'in and out'
ǰaː yi ǰaː yi	'every place'
tot taː m	'up to that point'
prath təriː kɨ	'in every way'
h'eri bonɨ	'up and down'
patɨ brǒː ṭhɨ	'back and front'

4.5.5. Sentence Adverbs

The sentence adverbs are of two types, (a) single items and (b) fixed collocations which may involve full sentences (see below). Single item sentence adverbs are items such as the following:

pəz'pə:th'	'really'
misa:lan	'for example'
beyi	'furthermore, moreover, also'

In the second type of sentence adverbs a distinction may be made between fixed collocations and sentence initiators.

1. Fixed Collocations:

   doyimen laphzan manz

   'in other words'

   tshɔt'an laphzan manz

   'in short'

2. Sentence Initiators:

   tuhɨnz kath ru:zin mu:ju:d[2]

   '(May) your talk live!'

   tɔhi bagva:n orzuv (va:rɨ) thəvinavɨ

   'May God keep you well!'

4.5.6 Adverbial Suffixation

We shall discuss the following types of adverbial suffixation in this section:

1. Direction
2. Location
3. Manner

4. Time
5. Type

4.5.6.1. Directional

-kin' refers to from the direction of

tati kin'	'from there'
yeti kin'	'from here'
kati kin'	'from where'

Note also:

tapə:r'kin'	'from there or that direction'
yapə:r'kin'	'from here or this direction'
kapə:r'kin'	'from where or which direction'
hupə:r'kin'	'from there or that direction'

The difference between tapə:r'kin' and hupə:r'kin' is that the former is used for location which is not within sight, and the latter is used for location which is within sight.

-kun (wards)

totkun	'towards that direction'
yotkun	'towards this direction'
kotkun	'towards which direction'

-kun may be preceded by a large number of items which show direction, e.g.,

pathkun	'backwards'
brõ:ṭhkun	'frontwards'
n'abarkun	'outwards'
h'orkun	'upwards'
bonkun	'downwards'

-pə:r' has restricted distribution and occurs with demonstrative pronouns and/or interrogative pronouns, e.g.,

tapə:r'	'in or from that direction'
yapə:r'	'in or from this direction'

hupə:r'	'in or from that direction'
kapə:r'	'in or from what direction'

Note also tsɔpə:r' 'in or from all directions.'

4.5.6.2. Locational

The use of the following locational suffixes is situationally and stylistically determined.

-an

yet'an	'at this location'(within sight)'
hut'an	'at that location'(within sight)'
tat'an	'at that location'(not within sight)
kat'an	'at which location'

-nɨy

yetinɨy	'here'
hutinɨy	'there'
tatinɨy	'there'
katinɨy	'where'

-nas

yetinas	'here'
hutinas	'there' (within sight)
tatinas	'there' (not within sight)
katinas	'where'

-nan

yetinan	'here' (emphatic)
hutinan	'there' (emphatic, within sight)
tatinan	'there' (emphatic, not within sight)

katinan	'where? (emphatic)

-kani

patɨkani	'behind'
brõ: ṭhɨkani	'in front'
n'ebrɨkani	'outside'
h'erikani	'above'
bɔnɨkani	'below'

Note also:

to: rɨkani	'from there or in that direction'
yo: rɨkani	'from here or in this direction'
ho: rɨkani	'from there or in that direction'
ko: rɨkani	'from where or in which direction'

-ti is used in the sense of 'from there (a location)'.

huti p'aṭhɨ	'from there'
tati p'aṭhɨ	'from there'
yeti p'aṭhɨ	'from here'
kati p'aṭhɨ	'from where'

4.5.6.3 Manner

-pə: th' (pə: ṭhin (ən)) may be preceded by adverbs of motion, intensity and manner.

(i) N pə: th'

si: lɨ chi paka: n ra: min' pə: th'

'Sheela walks like Ram.'

(The meaning here is that N_1 walks in the same manner as N_2.)

(ii) Q word pə:th'

Ra:mɨ kəm'sind' pə:th' č̆hu kh'ava:n?

'Like whom does Ram eat?'

ramɨ kithɨ pə:thi' a:v?

'In what manner (mode of transport) did Ram come?'

(iii) -thɨ is a derivational suffix obligatorily followed by -kan meaning in the way or manner, e.g.,

ti	'that'	tithɨ kan	'in that manner'
yi	'this'	yithɨ kan	'in this manner'
ki	'what?	kithɨ kan	'in what manner'

1. tithɨ kan gatshinɨ kh'on yi

   'It should not be eaten in that manner.'

2. me č̆hunɨ yithɨkan taga:n le:khun

   'I cannot write in this manner.'

3. tsɨ kithɨkan gatshakh tot

   'In what manner will you go there?' Sentence 3 may also mean 'What mode of transport will you take?'

4.5.6.4 Time

-an is used to refer to the division of the day, e.g.,

mand'un	'late afternoon'
mandinan	'at late afternoon'
duphor	'afternoon'
dupharan	'at afternoon'

-as is used with the units of time.

doh	'day'	d:has	'for (a) day'
ra:th	'night'	ra:tas	'for (a) night'
verih	'year'	veriyas	'for (a) year'
ša:m	'evening'	ša:mas	'in the evening'

-i is added to items denoting time. (The phonetic changes in different environments are not discussed here.)

duhul	'day time'	dohli	'by (the) day time'
ra:tul	'night time'	ra:tɨli	'by (the) night time'

-vizi is used in the sense of at that time and may occur with any of the following items:

(i) with units of time

re:tsvizi	'at night time'
dupeh:rɨvizi	'at midday'
sand'a:vizi	'at dusk'

Note that it does not occur with

*subhanvizi	'morning time'
*pagah vizi	'tomorrow'

(ii) with interrogative items

kamivizi	'at what time'
kɨtsivizi	'how many times'

(iii) with verbs

behnɨvizi	'at (the) time of sitting'
tsa:pnɨvizi	'at (the) time of chewing'
v:thnɨvizi	'at (the) time of getting up'
ne:rnɨvizi	'at (the) time of getting out (leaving)'

(iv) with nouns

imtiha:nɨvizi	'at the time of examination'

(v) with cardinal numbers

vizi may occur with all the cardinal numbers.

akivizi	'at one time'
doyivizi	'two times'
hativizi	'a hundred times'
sa:si vizi	'a thousand times'

Note that lati may also be used in this context, e.g.,

me vonɨmay tse hati lati

'I told you a hundred times.'

vizi vizi may also be used in the sense of 'time and again' or 'again and again', e.g.,

me vonɨmay tse vizi vizi yi mɨ kar, von' vuč̌h k'a: goy tse

'I told you time and again not to do this, now see what has happened to you.'

4.5.6.5. Type

-th (fem. tsh (cf. the Table below)) may be used in the sense of kind or type, e.g.,

me čhi titsh tsot khoš kara:n

'I like that kind of bread.'

ra:mas vanki t'uth ka:r yuthnɨ kari

' Tell Ram that he should not do such a deed.'

Item		Masculine		Feminine	
		Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
ti	'that'	t'uth	tith'	titsh	tishi̱
yi	'this'	yuth	yith'	yitsh	yitshi̱
hu	'that'	h'uth	hith'	hutsh	hutshi̱

4.6. Particles

4.6.1. Introduction

By particles we mean those closed system grammatical items which are not inflected and which do not enter into the morphological structure.

4.6.2. Classes of Particles

Particles may be grouped into the following classes on the basis of the syntactical constructions in which they occur.

1. Conjunctions
2. Postpositions
3. Interjections

4.6.2.1. Conjunctions

This includes those items which conjoin clauses and sentences. The conjoined units should have identical structures. (See also 8.4.).

4.6.2.1.1. Types of Conjoining Items

The conjoining items are of two types, (i) single items and (ii) pairs.

(i) single items

The items such as tɨ 'and' may be treated as single item conjunctions, e.g.,

ra:mɨ tɨ ši:lɨ gəyi tot

'Ram and Sheela went there.'

(ii) pairs

The conjunctions used in pairs are traditionally termed correlative conjunctions. Among others, note the following pairs of conjunctions:

agar/teli 'if/then'

agar su yiyi teli vučhav philim

'If he comes then we shall see a movie.'

na/na 'neither/nor'

tse na kh'o:th batɨ na čeyath ča:y

'You neither ate food nor drank tea.'

ya:/ya: 'either/or'

ya: beh tsɨ pathar ya: gatsh va:pas

'You either sit down or go back.'

yo:t (fem. *yə:ts*)/*ti* 'but/also'

ši:lay yə:ts a:yinɨ əs' ti a:yi

'Not only did Sheela come, but so did we.'

4.6.2.1.1.2. *Classes of Conjunctions*

Conjoining items may further be divided into the following classes:

4.6.2.1.1.2.1. *Alternative*, e.g., *kinɨ*, *ya:* 'or'

tsɨ ro:zɨkhɨ kinɨ gatshakh

'Will you stay or will you go?'

tsɨ di imtiha:n ya: tra:v parun

'You should take the examination or give up your studies.'

Note that *na/na* may also be used in an alternative sense, e.g.,

asi na m'u:l akhɨba:r na mi:ǰ kila:b

'We got neither (the) newspaper nor (the) book.'

4.6.2.1.1.2.2. *Contrastive* (adversative), e.g., *le:kin*, *magar* 'but'

əs' gəvi tot magar kita:b mi:ǰ nɨ

'We went there but could not get the book.'

le:kin is also used in the same sense, but is less frequent.

4.6.2.1.1.2.3. *Descriptive*, e.g., *ki*, *yi*, *zan*

The descriptive conjunctions are markers of the onset of a clause.

ki (*zi*) 'that'

me dop ki. . . .

'I thought that. . . .'

yi 'that'

bɨ vanay tse ti yi me kor

'I will tell you (that) what I did.'

zan 'as if'

ra:mɨ čhunɨ bo:za:nɨy, zan zor čhu

'Ram does not hear at all -- as if he were deaf.'

4.6.2.2. *Postpositions*

4.6.2.2.1. *Classes of Postpositions*

There are two classes of postpositions.

Class 1. Those which govern the dative case. Note, among others, the following:

andar 'in'

sandu:kas andar čhi kita:b

'(The) book is in (the) box.'

k'ath 'in' (in the sense of receptacle)

khə:sis k'ath an akh nu:nɨ ratshah

'Fetch (a) little salt in (a) cup.'

k'ut 'for'

yi tha:l čhu ra:mas k'ut

'This eating plate is for Ram.'

manz 'in'

gila:sas manz tra:v dɔd

'Pour some milk in (the) glass.'

niš 'near'

na:ras niš:tul yi thod

'Take it away from (the) fire.'

sa:n 'with' or 'accompanied by'

tsɨ yizi ša:mas ši:las sa:n

'You should come in the evening along with Sheela.'
(accompanied by)

sɨ:tin (sə:t') 'with,' 'accompanied by'

toh' yi:vɨ ši:las sə:tin philim vučhini

'Would you (like to) come accompanied by Sheela
to see (a) movie?'

Class 2. Those which govern the ablative case.

əndɨrɨ 'from inside'

yi mi:n' zan əndɨrɨ p'aṭhɨ n'abar ta:m

'You should measure it from inside to outside.'

kiñ 'because'

čə:n' kin' hek' nɨ əs' philim vučhith

'Because of you we could not see (the) movie.'

nišɨ, khotɨ 'instead'

phe:l gatshɨnɨ nišɨ (khotɨ) o:suy na parun ǰa:n

'It was better for you to discontinue (your studies) than to fail in (the) examination.'

patɨ 'after'

ši:las patɨ a:v su

'He came after Sheela.'

p'aṭhɨ 'on, from'

ba:nɨ p'aṭhɨ tul ṭha:nɨ

'Remove (the) lid from (the) pot.'

manzɨ 'from inside'

bohgɨnɨ manzɨ kaḍ so:ruy tomul nebar

'Take out all (the) rice from (the) pot.'

talɨ 'from below'

vathɨrini talɨ kaḍ tsa:dar nebar

'Take (the) blanket from under (the) bed.'

4.6.2.2.2. Inflection of Postpositions

Postpositions may further be divided into (i) those which may be inflected, and (ii) those which may not be inflected.

1. Uninflected Postpositions

Note, among others, the following:

bagə:r 'without'

ra:mɨ k'a:zi a:v tse bagə:r

'Why did Ram come without you?'

sɨ:t' (sɨ:tin) 'with' or 'accompanied by'

ši:lɨ a:ya: tohi sə:t'?

'Did Sheela accompany you?'

The uninflected postpositions may, however, take the emphatic suffix -ɨy, e.g.,

ši:lɨ a:ya: tse bagə:rɨy?

'Did Sheela come without (emphatic) you?'

2. Inflected Postpositions

Inflected postpositions may be inflected for number, gender, case, etc., e.g.,

p'aṭhɨ	'on'
talɨ	'below'
pət'kin'	'from behind'
ho:r	'there'

4.6.2.3. Interjections

These form a small group of items which are essentially vocal exponents determined by contexts. The sound produced may not necessarily form a part of the sound system of the language. It is by convention that some sounds are given certain values in the contexts of *disapproval*, *joy*, *sorrow*, *surprise*, etc. An example of such contextual noises is *ah*, *aha:*, *oh*, *vah*, *ale:*.

4.7. Indefinitization

4.7.1. Indefinitizing Forms

There are the following three main indefinitizing forms. These are primarily used as nominal modifiers:

ah, *khanḍ*, *pahan*

4.7.1.1. Distribution of *ah*

ah occurs in post-head position, e.g.,

akh maka:nah vuc̆hiv tati

'Look for one house (indefinitizer) there.'

ah may be added to cardinal numbers 'one' and 'two,' e.g.,

akh	'one'	*akhah*	'about one'
zɨ	'two'	*ǰo:rah*	'about two'

It may, like *khanḍ* (see below 4.7.1.2.), also be added to *hath* 'hundred,' *sa:s* 'thousand,' *lac̆h* 'lac' and *karo:r* 'one hundred lac.'

4.7.1.2. Distribution of *khanḍ*

-*khanḍ* occurs, among others, with the following types of nominal heads:

(i) *amount*, e.g.,

rɔpay khanḍ	'about a rupee'
sa:s khanḍ	'about one thousand'

Note that in numerals specifying amount it occurs only with *hath* 'hundred,' *sa:s* 'thousand,' *lac̆h* 'lac' and *karo:r* 'crore.' (For a discussion on indefinitizing cardinal numbers, see 4.2.9.6.).

(ii) measure, e.g.,

gaz khanḍ	'about a yard'
se:r khanḍ	'about a seer'
to:lɨ khanḍ	'about a to:la:'

4.7.1.3. Distribution of pahan

-pahan occurs with modifiers which operate, among others, in the following contexts:

(i) color, e.g.,

kruhun pahan 'a little darker (blacker)'

kruhun pahan ko:ṭh čhuvɨ tɔhi

'Do you have a little darker coat?'

(ii) distance, e.g.,

du:r 'far'

so:n maka:nɨ čhu yetipþ'aṭhɨ du:r pahan

'Our house is a little far from here.'

nəzdi:kh 'near'

tuhund gotsh maka:nɨ h'on nəzdi:kh pahan

'You should have bought a house slightly nearer.'

(iii) form, e.g.,

lɔkuṭ 'small'

yemikhɔtɨ lɔkuṭ pahan p'a:lɨ kɨ:tis čhu

'How much will a cup smaller than this cost?'

z'u:ṭh 'tall'

tse čhuy m'a:ni khɔtɨ z'u:th pahan mas

'Your hair is slightly longer than mine.'

(iv) manner, e.g.,

va:rɨva:rɨ pahan '(a) little slower'

toh' tul'tav yi sondu:kh va:rɨva:rɨ pahan

'You (honorific) lift this box a little slowly.'

(v) mental state, e.g.,

čo:r pahan '(a) little retarded'

moṭ pahan '(a) little mad'

ra:mun z'uṭh ləḍkɨ čhu čo:r pahan

'Ram's elder son is a little retarded.'

əmis mɨ an se:th yi čhu mot pahan

'Don't disturb him, he is a little mad.'

(vi) physical state, e.g.,

sa:ph pahan '(a) little clean'

mə:lɨ pahan '(a) little dirty'

sa:ph pahan kita:b di:tav

'Give me a book that is a little cleaner.'

yi kəmi:z čhi gə:mits mə:lɨ pahan

'This shirt is a little dirty.'

(vii) quantity, e.g.,

kam pahan '(a) little less'

tsor pahan '(a) little more'

me di kam pahan mədre:r

'Give me a little less sugar.'

ra:mɨ čhu tsor pahan nu:n kh'ava:n

'Ram eats a little more salt.'

(viii) *quality*, e.g.,

ǰa:n pahan 'a little better'

yemi khɔtɨ ǰa:n pahan kapur čhuvɨ

'Do you have a little better cloth than this?'

(ix) *speed*, e.g.,

te:z pahan 'a little fast'

toh' pəkiv te:z pahan

'You (honorific) walk a little faster.'

(x) *taste*, e.g.,

ṭ'oṭh pahan 'a little bitter'

tsok pahan 'a little sour'

yi sabzi čhi ṭ'əṭh pahan

'This vegetable is a little bitter.'

yi mɨ khe yi čhu tsok pahan

'Don't eat this; it is a little sour.'

4.7.1.4. Range of *khanḍ* and *pahan*

The forms *pahan* and *khanḍ* do not overlap in their distribution. *khanḍ* may be used with certain items showing quantity (e.g., *se:r khanḍ*), but there again the two forms do not overlap. The differences are as follows:

(a) *pahan* is used with uncountables and unspecific items (e.g., *kampahan* 'a little less').

(b) *khanḍ* marks specific quantity (e.g., *sa:s khanḍ* 'about a thousand,' *to:lɨ khanḍ* 'about a *to:la:*').

Note however, that *ratsh khanḍ* or *pũ:t khanḍ* are exceptions, since these don't refer to a specific quantity.

4.7.2. Echo-words as Indefinitizers

The main function of an echo-word is that of an indefinitizer. The members of all the word classes may be followed by an echo-item. An echo-item roughly means and the like. Consider, for example, the following:

ra:man kh'avɨ batɨ vatɨ

'Did Ram eat food and the like?'

ši:lɨ a:si duka:nas vuka:nas p'ath bihith

'Sheela will be sitting in a shop and the like!'

If a subject noun is followed by an echo-item it may mean and the rest, e.g.,

ša:mɨ va:mɨ a:san səku:l gə:mɨt'

'Shyam and the rest will have gone to school.'

An echo-item may co-occur in subject and complement positions, e.g.,

ši:lan vi:lan a:san tsoči voči khe:mtsɨ

'Sheela and the rest will have eaten bread and the like.'

4.7.2.1. Formation of Echo-items

By an echo-item we mean a form which is the partial reduplication of a lexical item, e.g., batɨ vatɨ 'food and (the) like.' In this example vatɨ may be considered an echo-item. In isolation the echo-item does not necessarily have a lexical meaning; therefore, such items may be treated as bound forms. An echo-item is inflected for case and number in the same way as the item which it reduplicates, e.g.,

lɔkčan vɔkčan ko:r'an vo:r'an gatshinɨ atsɨnɨ d'un

'Small (and the like) girls (and the like) should not be allowed in.'

lokṭ'an vokṭ'an ləḍkan gatshinɨ atsɨnɨ đ'un

'Small boys (and the like) should not be allowed in.'

An echo-item in the singular may be followed by -ah as an indefinitizer (cf. 4.7.1.1.) if it is in the item which is reduplicated. Consider the following 1 and 1 a,

1. va:zɨ pa:zɨ čhuvɨ onɨ mut

   'Have you secured a cook and the like (the rest)?'

1a. va:zah pa:zah čhuvɨ onɨ mut

4.7.2.2. Phoneme Substitution in Echo-items

An echo-item is essentially a reduplication of the preceding item, but it entails some phoneme substitution.

The phoneme substitution is mainly of two types:

(i) Initial consonant is replaced by /v/(except when it is /v/). If a word begins with a vowel then /v/ is introduced in the echo word, e.g.,

pa:lun va:lun	'nursing and the like'
phɔlun vɔlun	'blossoming and the like'
batɨ vatɨ	'cooked rice and the like'
tot vot	'hot and the like'
galun valun	'melting and the like'
kha:r va:r	'blacksmith(s) and the like'
ši:n vi:n	'snow and the like'
za:lun va:lun	'burning and the like'
si:r vi:r	'brick and the like'
o:lav vo:lav	'potatoes and the like'

In some cases free variation is possible, e.g., asun pasun 'laughing and the like.'

(ii) Initial /v/ changes to /p/, e.g.,

va:v pa:v	'wind and the like'
va:tul pa:tul	'sweeper and the like'
va:lun pa:lun	'bringing down and the like'
vasun pasun	'going down and the like'
vatshɨr patshɨr	'calf and the like'

(iii) The /v/ in the reduplicated item is palatalized if the initial consonant is palatalized, e.g.,

g'avun v'avun	'singing and the like'
p'on v'on	'falling and the like'
kh'on v'on	'eating and the like'

4.7.2.3. Loan Echo-items

In a restricted number of items the initial consonant of an echo-item changes to /š/. This generally applies to those echo-words which have been borrowed from other languages and have preserved the system of the source language. Many speakers, however, tend to use alternately the borrowed items, or make the phoneme substitution according to the system of Kashmiri.

Consider the following:

ana:p šana:p	'nonsense talk and the rest'
gap šap	'gossip and the rest'
anṭ šanṭ	'silly talk and the rest'

4.8. Nominal Derivation

4.8.1. Source of Derivational Morphemes

In Kashmiri there are four main sources from which a large number of derivational morphemes are used, i.e., Arabic, English, Persian and Sanskrit. The Arabic morphemes have come to Kashmiri through the Persian sources.

4.8.2. Distinctions

There are two types of derivational morphemes, those which are *productive* and those which are *non-productive*. A productive morpheme is productive in the sense that it occurs with a large set of items, e.g., *nambardar*, *zəːl'daːr*, *halkɨdaːr*, *dukaːndaːr*; *dɔdɨvoːl*, *tiːlɨvoːl*, *tsɨnivoːl*. A non-productive morpheme is one which has a limited range of occurrence. In certain cases it may occur with one item only. There are some Sanskrit prefixes in this category, e.g., *dɔr* in *dɔrlabː* 'hard to obtain'; *n'ar* in *n'arduːš* 'faultless.'

4.8.2.1. Prefixation

The following are some of the main prefixes:

a- marks antonyms of some words, e.g.,

poz	'true'
apuz	'false'

aḍɨ- marks quantity in the sense of English *half*, e.g., and Hindi-Urdu *adh* (*adhmara* 'half dead'), e.g.,

aḍimoːr	'half dead'
aḍɨpop	'half ripe'

al- marks intensity, e.g.,

almast	'free from anxiety, intoxicated'

an- functions like Hindi-Urdu negation marker *an* (*anpaṛh* , 'illiterate), e.g.,

anpaḍ	'illiterate'
anza:n	'without knowledge'
anhu:r	'unmarried'

avɨ- marks negation (cf. above *a*), e.g.,

avɨgɔn	'defect'

ə:n'- shows exactness (in time), intensity or depth, e.g.,

ə:n'mo:kɨ	'exact time'
ə:n'ḍangur	'real beast'

ba:- functions in the sense of *with* as in English *with respect*:

ba:adab	'with courtesy'

(Note also *ba:zə:b'tɨ*)

bad- functions as a modifier meaning *bad*, e.g.,

badza:th	'bad character'
badbakhɨt	'unlucky'

be:- functions in the sense of *without* (see also above *a* and *avɨ*):

be:hayah	'shameless'
be:parvah	'careless'
be:patsh	'untrustworthy'

bila:- used in the sense of *without* (see also above *a*, *avɨ* and *be:*):

bila:šak	'without doubt'
bila:matlab	'aimless'

dɔr- functions as a modifier, e.g.,

dɔrdaša:	'bad condition'
dɔrba:g'	'bad luck'

gə:r- marks antonyms and negation, e.g.,

gə:rhə:zri:	'absence'
gə:rza:n	'unacquainted'

har- marks distributive meaning, e.g.,

harkā̃h	'everyone'
harvizi	'every time'

ham- used in the sense of equal, e.g.,

hamza:th	'of the same za:th'
hamsi:nɨ	'of the same age group'

kam- conveys the meaning of less or low, e.g.,

kamza:th	'of low breeding
kamsi:nɨ	'of young age'

kɔ- used in the sense of English bad, Hindi ku-, e.g.,

kɔpu:t	'bad child'
kɔkə:m	'bad deed'

khɔš- used in the sense of happy and good, e.g.,

khɔšmiza:z	'happy tempered'
khɔš ba:š	'good talker'

la:- (cf. above a, avɨ and be:)

la:ǰava:b	'without parallel'
la:və:ris	'without heir'
la:parvah	'without care'

ner- used in the sense of without (cf. Hindi nir in nirdo:š), e.g.,

nerdan	'moneyless'

prath- used in the sense of every, e.g.,

prathkā̃h	'everyone'
prathvizi	'always'

sɔ- functions as a modifier (cf. Hindi sa in sapu:t)

sɔpu:t	'a good boy' 'son'

Note also the following items which may be segmented as prefixes but are not productive in Kashmiri, hence may be treated as borrowed lexical items.

bar-	barzaba:n	'on the tip of the tongue'
dar-	darasɨl	'in reality'
phil-	philha:l	'for the time being'
ponar-	pɔnarv'avah	'second marriage'
sar-	sarka:r	'government'

4.8.2.2. Suffixation

4.8.2.2.1. Types of Suffixation

The process of suffixation may be discussed under the following heads:

1. Suffixes forming nouns of agency
2. Suffixes forming abstract nouns
3. Suffixes forming adjectives from nouns
4. Suffixes marking kinship
5. Suffixes marking nationality
6. Suffixes marking possession

4.8.2.2.1.1. Suffixes Forming Nouns of Agency

-či:	tabalči:	'one who plays a tabla'
	khazɔ̃:či:	'treasurer'
	ə:phi:mči:	'one who is addicted to opium'
-da:r	zami:nda:r	'landlord'
	ṭhe:kɨda:r	'contractor'
-də:n'	thokɨdə:n'	'spitoon'
	nu:nɨdə:n'	'salt cellar'
	ca:yidə:n'	'teapot'
-gor	g'avangor	'a singer'
	gindangor	'a dancer'
	natsangor	'a dancer'
-nəvis	arzi:nəvi:s	'petition writer'
	nakšinəvi:s	'map maker' 'draftsman'
-niga:r	nakšɨniga:r	'map maker'
-vo:l	da:rivo:l	'the bearded one'
-vo:r	nanɨvo:r	'barefooted'
-vun	vadɨvun	'one who cries' 'easily irritable'
	asɨvun	'one who laughs' 'smiling'

4.8.2.2.1.2. Suffixes Forming Abstract Nouns

-a:nɨ	do:st	'friend'	do:sta:nɨ	'friendship'
	ǰurum	'crime'	ǰurma:nɨ	'a fine'
-ǰar	hol	'crooked'	haǰar	'crookedness'
	buḍɨ	'old'	buǰar	'old age'
-ar	pop	'ripe'	pap'ar	'ripeness'
-ə:y:	laḍun	'to fight'	laḍə:y	'a fight'
-ə:z	pənḍit	'pandit'	pənḍitə:z	'scholarship'
-e:r	modur	'sweet'	modɨre:r	'sweetness'
-gi:	ga:n	'a procurer'	ga:nɨgi:	'the act of procurer'
-i:	gəri:b	'poor'	gəri:bi:	'poverty'
-i:mi:	boḍ	'great'	bəḍi:mi:	'greatness'
-iyat	insa:n	'human being'	insə:niyath	'humanity'
	hayva:n	'beast'	hayvə:niyath	'beasthood'
-n'a:r	to:ṭh	'dear'	ṭə:ṭhin'a:r	'affection'
-pan	pa:gal	'mad'	pa:galpan	'madness'
-ut	šəthɨr	'enemy'	šətrut	'enmity'
-us	mɔnḍ	'widow'	mɔnḍus	'widowhood'
-zar	poz	'true'	pazar	'truth'
	s'od	'straight'	s'azar	'straightforwardness'
-čar:	lokuṭ	'small'	lokɨča:r	'childhood'

4.8.2.2.1.3. Suffixes Forming Modifiers from Nouns

-ə:n'	ǰisɨm	'body'	ǰisɨmə:n'	'physical'
-ba:z	do:khɨ	'deceit'	do:khɨba:z	'deceitful'
	ča:l	'trick'	ča:lba:z	'crafty'
-bi:n	tama:šɨ	'a spectacle'	tama:šɨbi:n	'spectator'
-hot	n'əndɨr	'sleep'	n'əndrihot	'sleepy'
	tre:š	'water'	tre:šihot	'thirsty'
-i:lɨ	ǰo:š	'spirit'	ǰo:ši:lɨ	'spirited'
-ku:	lạdə:y	'fight'	lạda:ku:	'quarrelsome'
-lad (fem. lədin')	phakh	'stink'	phakɨlad	'stinking'
-mand	phə:ydɨ	'benefit'	phə:ydɨmand	'beneficial'
	akɨl	'wisdom'	akɨlmand	'wise'
	do:lat	'wealth'	do:latmand	'wealthy'
-mut	tsh'oṭ	'dirty or polluted'	tsheṭ'o:mut	'polluted'
	tsok	'sour'	tsok'o:mut	'that which has turned sour'
-na:kh	kho:ph	'fear'	kho:phna:kh	'fearful'
-un (fem. ɨn)	pa:n	'self'	panun	'(my, his) own'
-ul (fem. ɨǰ)	ga:ṭɨ	'sense'	ga:ṭul	'wise'
-y'ul (fem. il)	ras	'juice'	rəs'ul	'juicy'

4.8.2.2.1.4. Suffixes Marking Kinship

The kinship marking suffixes are of two types. First, those items which belong to the primary kinship system and second, those items which have an extended semantic domain and may also be used in showing relationships.

-kaṭh is used with restricted items and has the meaning of 'son' in a derogatory sense, e.g.,

va:zɨkaṭh	'son of a cook'
tsu:rɨkaṭh	'son of a thief'
hu:n'kaṭh	'son of a dog'

There is also an entirely different use, e.g.,

sɔkhɨkaṭh	'son of happiness'

-koṭ (fem. kəṭ) may occur independently or with other items to convey profession, caste, etc., e.g.,

mɨsalma:nkoṭ	'a Muslim boy'
čha:nɨkoṭ	'son of a carpenter'
va:talkoṭ	'son of a sweeper'

-pu:t is added to a noun in the instrumental case and signifies an offspring. It covers a wide semantic area. Note the following among others:

(1) with surnames:

ko:lɨpu:t	'son of the Kaul family'

(2) with generic terms:

hu:n'pu:t	'a puppy'
kɔkarpu:t	'chicken'

(3) with other nouns:

mon'	'a kiss'	monipu:t

-*thɨr* marks the relationship of nephew, e.g.,

bo:y	'brother'
ba:pɨthɨr	'brother's son'

There is also the feminine form *ba:vaz* 'brother's daughter'.

-*tur* (fem. *tɨr*) marks the relationship of first cousin, e.g.,

ma:s	'mother's sister'
ma:sturboy	'mother's sister's son'
ma:stɨrbeni	'mother's sister's daughter'

-*uv* marks father's (or mother's) sister's husband, e.g.,

pɔph	'father's sister'
pɔphuv	'father's sister's husband'

-*za:dɨ* has roughly the same semantic domain as *kot* or *pu:t*, e.g.,

darza:dɨ	'son of the Dhar family'

The difference is that *za:dɨ* is more honorific. (Note also *hara:mza:dɨ* 'illegally begotten'.)

4.8.2.2.1.5. Suffixes Marking Nationality

The nationality marking suffixes may be used in two ways. One is by a genitive marker which functions as a modifier, e.g.,

kəši:rihund məhšu:r šə:yir məhju:r

'Kashmir' 'of' 'famous' 'Mahju:r'

'The famous poet of Kashmir, Mahjur'

The other process is phonological. The final consonant is palatalized and in the final syllable there is a vowel change, i.e., /a/ changes to /ə/, e.g.,

banga:l	'Bengal'	bangə:l'	'(a) Bengali'
madra:s	'Madras'	madrə:s'	'(a) Madrasi'
paha:ḍ	'Hill'	pahə:ḍ'	'(a) Highlander'
h'endusta:n	'India'	hendustə:n'	'(an) Indian'

The following do not follow this pattern:

amri:ka:	'America'	amri:kan or amri:ki:	'(an) American'
kəši:r	'Kashmir'	kə:šur (fem. kə:šir)	'(a) Kashmiri'

4.8.2.2.1.6. Suffixes Marking Possession

-al shows natural possession of an object. It refers to something which forms part of the object, e.g.,

də:r	'beard'	da:r'al	'bearded'

-a:n is used in a derogatory sense with restricted items such as

dand	'teeth'	danda:n	'bucktoothed'

-da:r (fem. da:ren') is used in the sense of owning, e.g.,

kha:nɨ	'house'	khanɨda:r	'owner of a house'

-yo:r (fem. yə:r)

poz	'truth'	pezyo:r	'truthful'

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Note that the feminine form is also used as a diminutive, as in Hindi-Urdu. For example, *bu:n'* 'maple tree, *chinār*' means a fully grown *chinār*, but *bo:nikuǰ* is a small *chinār* tree.

2. Note that *tuhinz kath ru:zin mu:ǰu:d* is used mainly to interrupt a person. It functions more or less like English 'excuse me.'

5. THE NOUN PHRASE

5. THE NOUN PHRASE

5.1. Structure of Noun Phrases

The constituents of a noun phrase are a head and optional items such as modifier(s) and/or qualifier(s), e.g.,

su boḍ ləḍki yus ka:liǰi čhu para:n
'That' 'big' 'boy' 'who' 'college' 'in' 'is' 'studying'
'That big boy who studies in the college'

In this sentence su boḍ are modifiers and yus ka:liǰi čhu para:n is a qualifying clause introduced by yus.

5.1.1. Modifiers

The modifying items can be divided into:

1. those which belong to the closed system, and
2. those which belong to an open set.

5.1.1.1. Types of Modifiers

The sequential priority of the items is structurally important. In the modifying position the preferential structural position of the items is as follows:

1. Items referring to nationality or region occur immediately before the nominal head, e.g.,

   panǰe:b' ləḍki
   '(a) Punjabi boy'

2. Items referring to (some types of) physical deformity occur between the nationality denoting item and the head, e.g.,

panǰe:b' danda:n ləḍki

'(a) Punjabi bucktoothed boy'

This constraint does not, however, apply to items such as *long* '(a) lame person', *kol* '(a) dumb person'.

3. Attributes such as color words precede the nationality items, e.g.,

kruhun panǰe:b' ləḍki

'(a) black Punjabi boy'

4. Closed system items such as demonstrative pronouns, numerals, or possessive pronouns occupy the last position when we start counting from the head of a noun phrase. Note that the numerals occur before the demonstrative pronouns.

The following examples of closed system items in modifying position are illustrative:

(a) Demonstrative pronouns

yi panǰe:b' ku:r a:yi

'This' 'Punjabi' 'girl' 'came'

(b) Numerals

yimi zi panǰe:b' ko:ri a:yi

'These' 'two' 'Punjabi' 'girls' 'came'

(c) Ordinals and cardinals

goḍinik'an don panǰe:b' ləḍkan di

'first' 'of' 'two' 'Punjabi' 'boys' 'give'

'Give it to the first two Punjabi boys.'

(d) Genitive phrase

duka:nuk mə:likh kus čhu

'shop' 'of' 'owner' 'who' 'is'

'Who is the owner of the shop?'

5.1.1.2. Base Modifiers and Derived Modifiers

Modifiers may further be divided into:

a) base modifiers and

b) derived modifiers.

5.1.1.2.1. Base Modifiers

Base modifiers are those modifiers which are not derived from any other class of words, e.g.,

krɨhun ko:ṭh	'(a) black jacket'
krɨhin' kɛmi:z	'(a) black shirt'

5.1.1.2.2. Derived Modifiers

Derived modifiers are those which are derived from other word-classes. These occur with derivational affixes. Consider the following:

1. ka:v čhu mu:dmut

'crow' 'is' 'dead

'The crow is dead.'

1a. mu:dmut ka:v tulukh

'The dead crow was taken (or lifted).'

In the above (1a) *mu:dmut ka:v* is derived from *ka:v čhu mu:dmut*.

It may be claimed that underlying all derived modifiers there is a noun + copula + adjective phrase construction.

For example, consider the following:

2. *ku:r čhi asa:n*

'The girl is laughing.'

3. *šur čhu vada:n*

'The child is crying.'

4. *ləḍkɨ čhu nanɨvo:r*

'The boy is barefooted.'

5. *tsŭ:ṭh čhu hot(ɨ)mut*

'The apple is rotten.'

6. *batɨ čhu dod(ɨ)mut*

'The rice is burnt.'

The above sentences (2-6) will give us the following phrases respectively:

2a. *asɨvɨn' ku:r*

'laughing girl'

3a. *vadɨvɨn' ku:r*

'crying girl'

4a. *nanɨvo:r ləḍkɨ*

'barefooted boy'

5a. hot(ɨ)mut tsũ:ṭh

'rotten apple'

6a. dod(ɨ)mut batɨ

'burnt rice'

Note that there are co occurrence restrictions and not all the items can occupy the modifying position, e.g.,

7. ləḍki: čhi vɔthɨvɨn'

'The girl is active.'

8. ləḍkan pər kita:b

Sentences (7 and 8) will not give us:

* 7a. vɔthɨvɨn' ləḍki:

* a. kita:b pərmut ləḍkɨ

5.1.1.2.3. Types of Derived Modifiers

5.1.1.2.3.1. Participle Forms as Modifiers

The participle forms of verbs may function in the modifier position.

A. Present Participle

A marker vun (fem. vɨn') is added to the verbal root to derive the present participle form, e.g.,

1. akh na:v čhi vi:ra:n

'one' 'boat' 'is' 'floating'

2. na:vi manz čhu tomul

'boat' 'in' 'is' 'rice'

Sentences (1 and 2) give us the following construction:

3. akis yi:rɨvɨni na:vi manz čhu tomul

'one' 'floating' 'boat' 'in' 'is' 'rice'

'There is rice in a floating boat.'

B. Past Participle

A marker mut (fem. mɨts) is added to the verbal root to derive the past participle form, e.g.,

1. rečh(ɨ)mut ǰa:nɨvar vud'av

'The pet bird flew.'

2. hot(ɨ)mut tsū:ṭh gatshi nɨ kh'on

'A rotten apple should not be eaten.

C. Agentival Phrases

The agentival function is marked by vo:l (fem. və:ǰ) (see 4.8.2.2.1.1.).

batɨ	bɛ:granvo:l	insa:n	čha:	yeti
'food'	'distribution'	'person'	'is' (interrogation marker)	'here'

'Is there a person who can distribute food?'

po:n'	kha:ranvo:l	leḍkɨ	gotsh thavun
'water'	'one who brings'	'boy'	'you should have employed'

'You should have employed a person for bringing (carrying) water.'

D. Genitive as Modifier

(See 4.2.3.).

5.1.2. Qualifiers

In a noun phrase the qualifier position may be occupied by the following:

(a) a number of honorific or status marking items, e.g.,

sə:b — la:lɨsə:b kati čhu

'Lala' (hon.) 'where' 'is'

'Where is Lala (hon.)?'

ju — ra:mɨ ju gav gari

'Ram' (hon) 'went' 'home'

'Ram (hon.) went home.'

(b) relative clauses introduced by relative pronouns (see 4.3.3.4.).

The relative clause as a qualifier essentially involves the embedding of a sentence, e.g.,

1. ši:lɨ čhi kə:šir

   'Sheela is Kashmiri.'

2. ši:lɨ čhi para:n

   'Sheela is a student.'

These two sentences after some structural changes give us:

ši:li yɔsi kəši:ri čhi, čhi para:n

'Sheela, who is a Kashmiri, is studying.'

Note also:

1. *ši:lan vučh maka:ni*

   'Sheela saw a house.'

2. *maka:nɨ čhu boḍ*

   'The house is big.'

ši:lan vučh su maka:nɨ yus boḍ čhu

'Sheela saw that house which is big.'

5.2. Nominal Complementation

5.2.1. Types of Nominal Complementation

The nominal complementation of the copula sentences is of two types:

1. direct NP complementation, and
2. oblique NP complementation.

Consider the following sentences:

bɨ čhus za:na:n ki ši:li gatshi pa:s

'I know that Sheela will pass (the examination).'

ši:lɨ čhi ath p'aṭh khɔš ki krišnɨ kari tamis sət' ne:thir

'Sheela is pleased (of it) that Krishan will marry her.'

The first sentence has direct NP complementation and the second sentence has oblique NP complementation. In oblique complementation the noun phrase that takes a *ki* (or *zi*) complement is part of a postpositional phrase, e.g., *ath p'aṭh* in the above sentence.

Notice that in the first sentence *(ki) ši:li gatshi pa:s* is an extension of the object of *za:na:n*. On the other hand, *ki krisnɨ kari tamis sə:t' ne:thɨr* is an extension of *ath p'aṭh*.

5.2.1.1. Restrictions on *ki* (or *zi*) Sentences 1/

It should be mentioned that there is a restricted set of verbs which may take a *ki* sentence as its object. Consider, for example, the following:

1. *za:nun* 'to know'

   su za:na:n čhu ki bɨ yimɨ nɨ

   'He knows that I will not come.'

2. *pra:run* 'to wait'

   ši:lɨ pra:ri ki ra:mɨ ma: yiyi

   'Sheela will wait to see if Ram comes.'

3. *vanun* 'to say'

   bɨ vanas ki ši:lɨ gəyi

   'I will tell him that Sheela left.'

4. *sõ:čun* 'to think'

   ra:man sũ:č ki ši:lɨ gatshi

   'Ram thought that Sheela would go.'

5.2.1.2. Nominalization of *ki* (or *zi*) Sentence in Object Position

There is a restriction on the nominalization of *ki* (or *zi*) sentence in the object position. Consider the following:

yi čhu poz ki ši:lan ho:r

'It is a fact that Sheela was defeated.'

If we take the part si:lan ho:r, it may be nominalized as in the following sentence:

ši:lun ha:run čhu poz

On the other hand, note that not all the ki complement items can be nominalized. Consider the following:

me vučh ki ra:man kh'av

'I saw that Ram ate.'

asi vučh ki ši:lan čav

'We saw that Sheela drank.'

In the above sentences ra:man kh'av and ši:lan čav cannot be nominalized as:

* ra:mun kh'on

* ši:lun čon

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Note that ki and zi are sometimes alternately used by the same speaker. By and large, it seems that the use of zi is restricted to the older generation.

6. THE VERB PHRASE

6. THE VERB PHRASE

6.1. Distinctions

In describing the verb phrase the following distinctions are to be made:

1. Finiteness
2. Polarity
3. Voice
4. Mood
5. Aspect

6.1.1. Finiteness

In finiteness there is a distinction between finite and non-finite. The finite verbs are those which take tense, number, gender and person markers, e.g.,

ši:lɨ čhi čava:n tre:š

'Sheela is drinking water.'

ši:lɨ ə:s čava:n tre:š

'Sheela was drinking water.'

ra:mɨ čhu čava:n tre:š

'Ram is drinking water.'

6.1.2. Polarity

In polarity the choice is between positive and negative. Consider the following:

ra:mi̠ čhu čava:n ča:y

'Ram is drinking tea.'

ra:mi̠ čhuni̠ čava:n ča:y

'Ram is not drinking tea.'

(For a detailed discussion on negatives see 8.2.9.).

6.1.3. Voice

In voice there are the following three choices:

(a) Active, e.g.,

ra:mi̠ čhu kh'ava:n bati̠

'Ram is eating food.'

(b) Passive, e.g.,

bati̠ čhu yiva:n kh'ani̠

'food is being eaten'

(c) Causative, e. g.

ra:man kh'a:vi̠ne:v Ši:li̠ bati̠

'Ram caused Sheela to eat food.'

6.1.4. Mood

In the mood system the following distinctions are possible, e.g.,

(a) Indicative, e.g.,

me čav 'I drank'

(b) Imperative, e.g.,

če '(you) drink'

(c) Benedictive, e.g.,

ləsin' 'May he live'

(d) Conditional, e.g.,

bɨ gatshɨhə: 'I would go'

6.1.4.1. Tenses and Mood

The distribution of tense forms in different moods is given below:

6.1.4.1.1. Indicative Mood

(a) Past Tense, e.g.,

ra:man Čeyi Ča:y 'Ram drank tea.'

(b) Present Tense

ra:mɨ Čhu Ča:y Čava:n 'Ram is drinking tea.'

(c) Future Tense :

ra:mɨ Čeyi Ča:y 'Ram will drink tea.'

(d) Aorist, e.g.,

ra:man Čeye:yi Ča:y 'Ram drank tea' (with reference to indefinite past)

ra:man kh'eye:yi tsot 'Ram ate bread.'

6.1.4.1.2. Benedictive Mood

The marker of wish or desire in the benedictive sense are the suffixes in (sing.) and iv (plural), e.g.,

tsɨ las	'(may) you live long'
ləsin'	'(may) he live long'
ləsiv'	'(may) you (plu.) live long'

6.1.4.1.3. Conditional Mood.

The conditional marking suffix is added to the verb, e.g.,

šiːlɨ həy yiyiheː yi sapdehnɨ

'If Sheela had come, this would not have happened.'

Note also the following conjugation:

Singular		Plural
kh'amɨhəː	'I would eat.'	kh'amɨhəːv
kh'ɨhəːkh	'You would eat.'	kheyihiːv
kh'eyiheː	'He would eat.'	khihəːn

6.1.5. Aspect

The categories of aspect and tense are interrelated. In aspect, the following two distinctions are possible:

1. Perfective

   (a) raːman čeːmɨts čha treːš

   'Ram has drunk water.'

   (b) raːman čeːmɨts əːs treːš

   'Ram had drunk water.'

2. Imperfective

   (c) raːmɨ čhu čavaːn treːš

   'Ram is drinking water.'

   (d) raːmɨ oːs čavaːn treːš

   'Ram was drinking water.'

Note that in the above (a) and (c) are in the present tense and (b) and (d) are in the past tense.

1/b

6.2. Types of Verbs

There are two types of verbs: simple verbs and compound verbs.

6.2.1. Simple Verbs

By a simple verb is meant a single verbal item, e.g.,

kh'av *ra:man kh'av batɨ*
'Ram ate food.'

A simple verb may also include an aspect or tense marker.

6.2.2. Compound verbs

By a compound verb we mean a complex verbal item which comprises two (or more) members, e.g., *vəthith gatshun* 'to stand'. Perhaps Grierson[1] was the first to use this term with reference to Kashmiri on the basis that such a term was earlier used in Hindi-Urdu to define verbs such as *uṭhbɛ:ṭhna:* 'to get up', *kha: le:na:* 'to eat', etc.

Grierson[2] gives the following illustrations of what he considers compound verbs in Kashmiri:

p'on vasith	'to fall down'
h'akun karith	'to be able to do'
h'on le:khun	'to begin to write'
yatshun le:khun	'to wish to write'
lagun kə̃:pni	'to begin to tremble'

6.2.2.1. Elements of Compound Verbs

A compound verb may comprise verb (+ suffix) and an operator.[3] Consider the following:

V + Suffix	Operator	
V + ɨ	(čanɨ)yun	'to be able to drink'
V + th	(čath)d'un	'to give after drinking' or 'to drink'
V + a:n	(čava:n)n'un	'to take while drinking'
V + nay	(čanay)karun	'to do without drinking'

The items which follow a verb are termed 'operators'. The following is a partial list of such items:

anun, e.g.,

kəḍith anun	'to pull out'
mə̃:ǰith anun	'to clean'

a:sun, e.g.,

šɔngith a:sun	'to be asleep'
bihith a:sun	'to be seated'

gatshun, e.g.,

kərith gatshun	'to do'
me:rith gatshun	'to kill'

tshɨnun, e.g.,

čhəkrith tshɨnun	'to spread'
ṭhəgith tshɨnun	'to cheat'

tra:vun, e.g.,

kərith tra:vun	'to do'
gɨhith tra:vun	'to rub'

thavun, e.g.,

kapṭith thavun	'to cut'
pihith thavun	'to grind'

d'un, e.g.,

tse:ṭh d'un	'to grind'
va:ṭh d'un	'to fix'

ne:run, e.g.,

phəṭith ne:run	'to become outstanding'
non ne:run	'to become known'

n'un, e.g.,

pihith n'un	'to grind'
kh'ath n'un	'to eat'

pakun, e.g.,

rəlith pakun	'to mix'
tsəṭith pakun	'to cut', 'to annoy (friends)'

p'on, e.g.,

ni:rith p'on	'to come out'
tshenith p'on	'to get tired'

bihun, e.g.,

rəlith bihun	'to live united'
mi:lith bihun	'to sit united'

yun, e.g.,

ts'alni yun	'to be crammed'
ṭhagni yun	'to be deceived'

raṭun, e. g.,

gənzrith raṭun	'to accept after counting'
milvith raṭun	'to accept after mixing'

ro:zun, e.g.,

ləgith ro:zun	'to remain stuck'
šõgith ro:zun	'to remain asleep'

va:lun, e.g.,

ts'al va:lun	'to cram'

A partial list of the compound verbs in Kashmiri is given in the Appendix.

6.2.2.2. Constraints on the Sequence of Compound Verbs

The sequence of compound verbs does not have the same constraints in Kashmiri as in Hindi-Urdu. For example, the sequence V + operator may change to operator + V, e.g.,

kh'ath tsɨnun or tshɨnun kh'ath	'to eat up'

6.3. Sub-classes of Verbs

(a) Copula/linker: The verb a:sun is used in the copulative sense. Its forms are discussed in 4.4.3.2.1, and some of its syntactic aspects are discussed in 8.2.1.2.

(b) Intransitive: Intransitive verbs are those verbs which do not take objects, e.g.,

ra:mɨ voth	'Ram got up.'
ši:n gav gəlith	'The snow melted.'

(c) Transitive: Transitive verbs are those which take objects, e.g.,

ra:man kh'av batɨ

'Ram ate food.'

(d) Double Object: Double object verbs are those which take two objects, e.g.,

ra:man dits ləḍkas kita:b

'Ram gave (a) book to (a) student.'

(e) Causal: Causative verbs are formed with causative suffixes. Consider the following:

khe	'eat' (imp.)
kh'a:v	'make (someone) eat'
kh'a:vɨna:v	'cause to make eat through someone'
kh'a:vɨna:vɨna:v	'cause to make eat through someone'

In the above examples a:v marks the first causative and ɨna:v/ina:vɨna:v mark the second causative.

The verbs may be divided into the following sub-groups:

(i) Those verbs which have three forms, i.e., intransitive, transitive and causative, e.g.,

thakun	'to get tired'
thəkrun	
thəkra:vun	

(ii) Those verbs which have only two forms, i.e., transitive and causative, e.g.,

za:lun	'to burn'
za:lɨna:vun	

(iii) Those verbs which have no causative form, e.g.,

ə̃:ṭrun	'to observe'
kə̃:čhun	'to desire'
ba:sun	'to feel'

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See G. A. Grierson, _A Manual of the Kāshmīrī Language_ (Oxford, 1911), p. 62.
2. Ibid.
3. Cf. Yamuna Kachru, _An Introduction to Hindi Syntax_ (Urbana, Illinois, 1966), pp. 51 and 52.

7. THE ADVERBIAL PHRASE

7. THE ADVERBIAL PHRASE

7.1. Introduction

The classes of adverbs have already been discussed in 4.5.1. In this section a few brief observations will be made about the adverbial phrase.

7.2. Types of Adverbial Phrases

The following is a partial list of adverbial phrases.

7.2.1. vizi Phrase (Time)

ra:mɨ yiyi tami vizi

'Ram will come at that time.'

7.2.2. patɨ Phrase (Time, see 4.5.2.6.)

ra:mɨ kətsav dohav patɨ yiyi

'After how many days will Ram come?'

bɨ samkhay tse tso:ri baǰi patɨ

'I will meet you after four o'clock.'

7.2.3. lati Phrase (Time)

bɨ go:s təm'sund garɨ va:rɨya:hi lati

'I went to his house many times.'

7.2.4. kun Phrase (Directional, see 4.5.6.1.)

tsɨ phe:r path kun

'You turn backwards.'

7.2.5. kin' Phrase (Directional, see 4.5.6.1.)

ši:lɨ a:yi səku:lɨ kin'

'Sheela came from the direction of the school.'

(Note also a different use of kin' in bɨ čhus da:dikin' kamzo:r 'I am weak because of the illness.').

7.2.6. an Phrase (Locational, see 4.5.6.2.)

kita:b thav yet'an

'Keep the book here.'

7.2.7. pə:ṭh' Phrase (Manner, see 4.5.6.3.)

tsɨ pakh va:rɨva:rɨ, pə:ṭh'

'You walk slowly.'

7.3. Sentence Adverbs: Position (See also 4.5.5.)

The sentence adverbs may occur at the following positions (for a partial list see 4.5.5.):

1. pəz'pə:ṭh' bɨ o:sus ra:th go:mut səku:l

   'Really, I had gone to school yesterday.'

2. *bi o:sus pəz'pɛ:ṭh' ra:th sɛku:l go:mut*

3. *bi o:sus ra:th səku:l pɛz'pɛ:ṭh' go:mut*

The distribution which *pəz'pə:ṭh'* 'really', *ša:yad* 'perhaps' show does not apply to all the adverbs.

The distribution of *misa:lan* 'for example', *beyi* 'furthermore, moreover' shows other restrictions which we shall not discuss here.[1]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The adverbial phrase in Kashmiri will be discussed in detail in a forthcoming study.

8. THE SENTENCE TYPES

8. THE SENTENCE TYPES

8.1. Elements of the Kashmiri Sentence

A Kashmiri sentence comprises a subject (noun phrase) and predicate (verb phrase).

A verb phrase may include an auxiliary verb and a main verb, e.g.,

šiːlɨ čhi šongith

'Sheela is asleep.'

The auxiliary items (see 4.4.3.2.1.), as stated earlier, are inflected for tense, number, gender, person and status (see 4.4.4., 4.4.5., and 4.4.6.).

The preferred order of elements in a Kashmiri sentence is subject, verb, object, e.g.,

raːmɨ čhu kh'avaːn batɨ

'Ram is eating food.'

The modal items may occur at the following positions:

raːmɨ heki kh'ath batɨ

'Ram can eat food.'

raːmɨ heki batɨ kh'ath

8.1.1. Concord

The following concord rules apply in a Kashmiri sentence.

(i) A verb agrees with subject noun in number, gender and person in a subjectival construction, e.g.,

tsɔči čhi mazɨdaːr

'The bread is tasty.'

ləḍkɨ čhu ča:la:kh

'The boy is clever.'

ra:mɨ čhu para:n kita:b

'Ram is reading a book.'

ši:lɨ čhi para:n kita:b

'Sheela is reading a book.'

(ii) A verb agrees with object noun in an objectival construction, e.g.,

ra:man pər kita:b (fem.)

'Ram read the book.'

ra:man por akhba:r (mas.)

'Ram read the newspaper.'

(iii) A noun modifier agrees with the nominal head in number, gender and case, e.g.,

akh lɔkɨṭ kur: čhi para:n

'One small girl is studying.'

akh lɔkuṭ ləḍkɨ čhu para:n

'One small boy is studying.'

Consider the following examples:

1. N + V agreement

Sub. N.Mas./Sing.	gagur phoṭ	'a mouse sank'
Sub. N. Mas./Plu.	gagar phəṭ'	'mice sank'
Sub. N. Fem./Sing.	gagɨr phəṭ	'a mouse sank'
Sub. N.Fem./Plu.	gagri phəči	'mice sank'

Adjective noun agreement

Mas. Sing.	boḍ maka:ni̠	'(a) big house'
Mas. Plu.	bəḍ' maka:ni̠	'big houses'
Fem. Sing.	bəḍ ku:r	'(a) big girl'
Fem. Plu.	baǰi ko:ri	'big girls'

8.2. Sentence Types

We shall briefly discuss the following main sentence types in Kashmiri:

1. Copula
2. Intransitive
3. Transitive
4. Double Object
5. Causative
6. Passive
7. Interrogative
8. Imperative
9. Negative

8.2.1. Copula Sentences

The verb a:sun 'to be' is used in the copulative sense. The forms of a:sun are the same as the auxiliaries (see 4.4.3.2.1.).

The verb a:sun may take any of the following as predicate complements:

a) a noun phrase, e.g.,

ra:mi̠ čhu ḍa:kṭar

'Ram is a doctor.'

b) an adjectival phrase, e.g.,

ra:mɨ čhu tshoṭ

'Ram is short.'

c) an adverbial phrase, e.g.,

ra:mɨ čhu maka:nas manz

'Ram is inside the house.'

8.2.1.2. Semantic Areas of Copulative Sentences

The copulative sentences may function in the following semantic areas:

8.2.1.2.1. Existential

This implies an assertion about the existence of an abstract concept or an *entity*, e.g.,

bagva:n (khɔda:) čhu

'God' 'is'

bɨ čhus

'I' 'am'

In these examples *bagva:n čhu* refers to 'being' *per se* or 'omnipresence', and *bɨ čhus* implies 'presence'.

Such statements may have a reference to the future, and may entail some kind of commitment, e.g., *va:dɨ čhu* 'promise' 'is', 'it's a promise'. This meaning is obviously different from *poz čhu* 'truth is' or 'it is true', which again is different from *bagva:n čhu poz* 'God is true'.

8.2.1.2.2. Universal Truth

This overlaps with the meaning of an existential statement. A universal truth 'exists' as a concept. A phenomenon may be explained as an unavoidable fact of life, as something that must happen. A large number of fixed collocations also belong to this class.

samsa:r čhu asa:r

'The world is transitory.'

bagva:n čhu boḍ

'God is great.'

Note that the class of nouns which take subject position in such structures is limited.

8.2.1.2.3. Role

By role we mean those contexts which attribute particular function to the subject. For example, A may be marked by a role B, or roles B and C, e.g.,

ra:mi̠ čhu ḍa:kṭar

'Ram' 'is' 'doctor'

'Ram is a doctor.'

ši:li̠ čhi mastar ti̠ me:ǰ

'Sheela' 'is' 'teacher' and 'mother'

'Sheela is a teacher and a mother.'

8.2.1.2.4. Attribute

The attributive function can further be sub-classified into possession, mental quality, and characteristics, e.g., Ši:las čhi s'athah pə̃:si

'Sheela has a lot of money.'

ra:mi čhu te:z

'Ram is hot tempered.'

bagva:n čhu daya:lu:

'God is kind.'

It is claimed that the sentences marking possession have more than one interpretation, e.g.,

ra:mas čhu athi

'Ram has a hand.'

ra:mas čha rɔpay

'Ram has a rupee.'

ra:mas čhu athi suggests that Ram owns a hand, in the sense that it forms a part of his body, and ra:mas čha rɔpay is understood in the sense of material possession.

It will not be out of place if we discuss the possessive constructions of Kashmiri in detail here.[1] In Kashmiri the possessive-genetive constructions are related to the underlying copula constructions and are in certain ways different from such constructions in Hindi-Urdu. The possessive postpositions are inflected for number, gender and case.

Consider the following constructions of Hindi-Urdu:

1. ra:m ko: sardard hai

   'Ram has a headache.'

2. ra:m ke:pa:s duka:n hai

   'Ram has a shop.'

3. *ra:m ke: ek larka: hai*

'Ram has a son.'

The 'translation equivalents' of the above Hindi-Urdu constructions in Kashmiri are the following:

4. *ra:mas čhu maka:ni*

5. *ra:mas čhu duka:n*

6. *ra:mas čhu nečuv*

The differences in the above sets of sentences are as follows:

(i) The Hindi-Urdu postpositions *ko:*, *ke:pa:s*, and *ke:* are determined by the possessed nominal in the following conditions:

ko: + abstract noun

ke:pa:s + concrete noun

ke: + animate noun

(ii) In Kashmiri in such contexts a form of the verb *a:sun* is chosen and the possesser noun is in the dative case. It is interesting to note that in the traditional grammars, one of the functions listed for the dative case is to refer to *location* and/or *possession*. It, therefore, seems plausible to derive constructions such as

7. *ra:mun maka:ni*

'Ram's house'

8. *ra:mini ambi*

'Ram's mangoes'

9. *ra:min' na:v*

'Ram's boat'

from the following locative constructions as has been done in the case of Hindi-Urdu.

7a) ra:mas čhu maka:ni

'Ram has a house.'

8a) ra:mas čha ambi

'Ram has mangoes.'

9a) ra:mas čhi na:v

'Ram has a boat.'

The genetive constructions function mainly as modifiers in Kashmiri. Consider the following:

10. na:vi hund paš

'The roof of a boat.'

11. ši:lun dod

'Sheela's milk'

12. ph'aphruk davah

'medicine for a boil'

13. mohnun tasvi:r

'Mohan's picture'

The above possessive constructions are derived from the following copula sentences:

10a) na:vi čhu paš

'The boat has a roof.'

11a) ši:las čhu dod

'Sheela has milk.'

11b) ši:las k'ut čhu dɔd

'The milk is for Sheela.'

12a) ph'aphras k'ut (khə:trɨ) čhu davah

'The medicine is for the boil.'

Sentence (11) has two readings: One reading may be translated as 'milk for Sheela' and the other as 'milk of Sheela'.

Sentence (13) is ambiguous in three ways. The following interpretations are possible:

(i) that picture which is possessed or owned by N. The underlying form is:

mohnas čhu tasvi:r

(ii) that picture which is of N in the sense that it is a photograph of N. The underlying form is:

mohnun čhu tasvi:r

(iii) that picture which has been drawn by N. The underlying form is:

mohnan čhu bano:vmut tasvi:r

By embedding a relative clause the ambiguity in (13) can be resolved, except in the case of the above (ii). For example:

(i) tasvi:r yus mohnas čhu

'picture' 'which' 'Mohan' 'has'

(ii) tasvi:r yus mohnun čhu

'picture' 'which' 'Mohan' 'of' 'is'

(iii) tasvi:r yus mohnan bano:vmut čhu

'picture' 'which' 'Mohan' 'by' 'made' 'is'

In all the above constructions the N_1 and N_2 are related by the copula. The subject noun is in the dative case and the copula agrees with the object noun.

The constructions (11b) and (12a) also have postpositional phrases. The locative postposition is not obligatory and may be deleted.

To sum up, in Kashmiri, possession is expressed by the following device:

(i) the possessor noun is inflected for dative case,
(ii) the possessed noun is in the nominative, and
(iii) the main verb is the copula verb a:sun.

8.2.1.2.5. Locative and Directional

The following are the locative and directional uses of the copula:

(1) bi čhus yet'ath

'I am here.'

(2) bɨ čhus kə:šur

'I am from Kashmir.'

(3) bagva:n čhu a:ka:šas manz

'God is in heaven.'

(4) ga:dɨ čhi pə:nis manz

'Fish are in the water.'

(5) be:kɨl čhi prath ǰa:yi

'Fools are everywhere.'

The above sentences differ in the following senses:

Sentence (1) expresses the state of presence (or physical existence) at a place.

Sentence (2) refers to belonging.

Sentences (3)-(5) show the types of location, and are not identical in their interpretations.

8.2.1.2.6. Identity

In identity the claim is made that A is B, e.g.,

ra:mɨ čhu gã:di.

'Ram is a Gandhi.'

Identity, naturally, involves comparison. Note however that in establishing identity there is no constraint that N_2 should only be an animate N. For example,

ra:mɨ čhu kən'

'Ram is a stone.'

or ši:lɨ čhi thən'

'Sheela is butter.'

8.2.2. Intransitive Sentences

Intransitive sentences are those which do not have an object, e.g.,

ra:mɨ p'av

'Ram fell.'

tse osuth

'you laughed.'

(See also 6.3 (b) Intransitive)

8.2.3. Transitive Sentences

Transitive sentences are those which take an object, e.g.,

ši:lan čeyi ča:y

'Sheela' 'drank' 'tea'

'Sheela had tea.'

ra:man tshɨn' palav

'Ram' 'wore' 'clothes'

'Ram put on (his) clothes.'

(See also 6.3.(c) Transitive.)

8.2.3.1. Types of Transitive Sentences

We may further divide transitive sentences into:

(i) subjectival, and

(ii) objectival.

In subjectival sentences the Vt agrees in number, gender and person with the subject, e.g.,

ləḍkɨ čhu kita:b para:n

'boy' 'is' 'book' 'reading'

'(A) boy is reading (a) book.'

ləḍki: čha kita:b para:n

'girl' 'is' 'book' 'reading'

'(A) girl is reading (a) book.'

ləḍkɨ čhi kita:bɨ para:n

'boys' 'are' 'books' 'reading'

'Boys are reading books.'

ləḍki: čha kita:bɨ para:n

'girls' 'are' 'books' 'reading'

'Girls are reading books.'

In the objectival sentences Vt agrees with the object nominal, e.g.,

ləḍkan kh'av batɨ

'(The) boy ate (some) food.'

ləḍki: kh'av batɨ

'(The) girl ate (some) food.'

ləḍkan pər kita:b

'(The) boy read (the) book.'

ləḍki: pər kita:b

'(The) girl read (the) book.'

In the above examples the subject nominal is in the dative case. The verbs (kh'av and pər) agree with the objects (batɨ and kita:b). It should be noted here that Kashmiri, unlike Hindi-Urdu, does not use impersonal constructions of the type:

ləṛki: ne: kita:b ko: paṛha:

8.2.4. Double Object Sentences

Double object sentences are those which take two objects.

ma:sṭaran dits ləḍkas kita:b

'(The) teacher gave (a) book to (the) student.'

8.2.5. Causative Sentences

A verbal root may be causativized by adding causative suffixes.

čon	'to drink'
ča:vun	'to make (someone) drink'
ca:vɨna:vun	'to cause someone to drink through someone else'

Consider the following examples:

1. *ši:lan čeyi tre:š*

'Sheela drank water.'

2. *ši:lan čo:v ra:mɨ tre:š*

'Sheela made Ram drink water.'

3. *ši:lan ča:vɨno:v krišnas athi ra:mɨ tre:š*

'Sheela caused Ram to drink water through Krishna.'

3a. *ši:lan ča:vɨna:vɨno:v krišnas athi ra:mɨ treš*

'Sheela caused Ram to drink water through Krishna.'

The interpretation of the above sentences is as follows:

In sentence 1 Sheela performs an act.

In sentence 2 Sheela *causes* Ram to drink water.

In sentence 3 N_1 makes N_2 make N_3 perform an act. (Sentences 3 and 3a have identical interpretations.)

If the agent is not deleted it is followed by an instrumental postposition (e.g., *athi*, *zəryi*), e.g.,

ši:lan ča:vɨno:v krishnɨ ra:mas athi tre:š

'Sheela made Krishan drink water through Ram.'

'Sheela used Ram to make Krishan drink water.'

Ši:lan divina:v krišnas ra:mini zəryi čith'

'Sheela made Ram give Krishan (the) letter.'

8.2.5.1. Noncausative Verbs: Sub-groups

There is a small group of verbs which are not causativized. These fall into two groups. First, those which show the state of mind. Second, those which show action.

Group 1

azma:vun	'to try'
kã:čhun	'to desire'
tsa:lun	'to bear', 'to tolerate'
za:gun	'to watch (with evil intent)'
de:šun	'to see'
ba:sun	'to feel'
yatshun	'to desire'

Group 2

čha:vun	'to wear'
dapun	'to say'
ne:run	'to come out'
ro:zun	'to stay'
vəthun	'to get up'

8.2.6. Passive Sentences

A passive sentence has agreement between the verb and the object. Consider the following:

1. *ši:lan čeyi ča:y*

   'Sheela drank tea.'

1a. *ši:lɨni zəryi a:yi ča:y čanɨ*

   '(The) tea was drunk by Sheela.'

2. *raman kh'av batɨ*

   'Ram ate (his) food.'

2a. *ra:mɨni zəryi a:v batɨ kh'anɨ*

   '(The) food was eaten by Ram.'

The above sentences 1 and 2 are active and sentences 1a and 2a are passive.

The passive sentences are formed by adding forms of the verb *yun* 'to come' with the ablative of the verbal noun in *un*.

8.2.6.1. Deletion of Agent

In Kashmiri passivization with undeleted agent is infrequent in the same way as in Hindi-Urdu.

8.2.7. Interrogative Sentences

8.2.7.1. Types of Interrogative Sentences

The interrogative sentences are of two types:

1. those which may elicit a *a:* 'yes' or *na* 'no' type of response, and
2. those which are not answered by *a:* or *na*, but by some other structure, e.g., a noun phrase, an adjectival or adverbial phrase, etc.

For the first type of interrogative sentence formation, the interrogative marker is suffixed to the verb. For the second type, an element of non-interrogative sentence is replaced by an interrogative pronoun with identical function.

Consider the following sentences:

1. *tse kh'o:thɨ batɨ*

'Did you eat food?'

2. *tse kati čhuy garɨ*

'Where is your home?'

The reply to sentence 1 can be *a:* or *na*.

On the other hand, the reply to sentence 2 will be a phrase such as *sri:nagirɨ* 'in Srinagar' which is understood as derived from *me čhu gari sri:nagirɨ* 'My home is in Srinagar.'

In the following sentences the question item *k'a:* is optional. When it is inserted in a sentence it takes sentence initial position. Consider the following:

1. *ra:man čeya: Ča:y*

'Did Ram drink tea?'

1a. *k'a: ra:man čeya: Ča:y*

'Did Ram drink tea?'

2. *tsɨ go:khɨ garɨ*

'Did you go home?'

2a. *k'a: tsɨ go:khɨ garɨ*

'Did you go home?'

3. ši: lan pəri yi kita:b

'Did Sheela read this book?'

3a. k'a: ši: lan pəri yi kita:b

'Did Sheela read this book?'

8.2.7.2. Types of Interrogative Items

The interrogative items are, among others, the following:

k'a: 'who' (inanimate)

hut'ath k'a: čhu

'What is there?'

kus 'who' (animate)

duka:nas manz kus o:s

'Who was inside the shop?'

k'uth 'what type' (adjective)

kəši:ri k'uth mu:sim čhu

'What type of climate does Kashmir have?'

k'a:zi 'why' (reason)

ra:mas čha: khabar ši:li k'a:zi gəyi ni tot

'Does Ram know why Sheela did not go there?'

kar 'when' (time)

ra:mas kar čhu gatshun tot

'When is Ram going there?'

kat'ath 'where' (place)

ši:lun səku:l kat'ath čhu

'Where is Sheela's school?'

kithɨpe:th' (kan) 'how' (manner)

rami kithɨpe:ṭh' khasi yot

'How will Ram come up here?'

kəm'sund 'whose' (possessive)

yi kəm'sund garɨ čhu

'Whose house is this?'

kape:r' 'which way' (direction)

səku:l kapo:r' čhi gatsha:n

'Which way does one go to get to the school?'

kəts 'how many' (number)

Čə:nis kalə:sas manz kəts ləḍkɨ čhi

'How many students are in your class?'

ku:t 'how much' (quantity)

ku:t tomul gatshi:

'How much rice do you want?'

(See also Interrogative Pronouns 4.3.3.3.)

Consider the following interrogative sentences and the alternation of interrogative marker ɨ and a:

1. təm' $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{ronɨ}\\ \text{rona:}\end{matrix}\right\}$ batɨ

'Did he cook the food?'

2. Ši:lan $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{čholi}\\ \text{čhel'a:}\end{matrix}\right\}$ palav

'Did Sheela wash the clothes?'

3. $\underline{\text{ra:man}}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{bano:vi}}\\ \underline{\text{bano:va:}}\end{array}\right\}\underline{\text{maka:ni}}$

'Did Ram build a house?'

In sentences 1-~~2~~3 3 e: expresses interrogation with wonder (e.g., 'I wonder if he cooked the meal.').

8.2.7.3. Intonation as an Exponent of Interrogation

In many sentences the exponent of interrogation may be in the intonation. Consider the following:

1. Statement

az gatshav səku:l

'Today we shall go to school.'

The intonation of the statement is

az gatshav sə
ku:l

2. Interrogative

The intonation of interrogative sentence is

ku:l
az gatshav sə

The function of intonation in interrogative sentences is not discussed here in detail.

8.2.8. Imperative Sentences

The imperative sentences form a scale on the basis of the degree of command which they express.

They may be grouped into the following:

8.2.8.1. Jussive

This expresses 'mild' imperative in which the pronoun is honorific and the verb is plural. The choice of the plural verb is determined by the selection of the honorific pronoun.

toh' gətsh'tav garɨ

'You (honorific) go (honorific) home.'

Compare this with:

tsɨ gatshtɨ garɨ

'You go home.'

8.2.8.2. Command

This expresses command with full force. In it (as in Hindi-Urdu) the subject is generally deleted:

n'ebar ne:r

'Get out.'

thod vɔth

'Get up.'

betɨ khe

'Eat food.' or 'Eat!'

8.2.8.3. Polite

This is determined by the status, social position, and age of the participants.

toh' mutsrə:viv na: mahra: darva:zɨ

'Won't you (honorific), sir, open the door.'

(participant Hindu)

toh' mutsrə:viv na: haz darva:zɨ

(participant Muslim)

toh' mutsrə:viv na: bi: darva:zɨ

(participant a woman)

8.2.8.4. *pazi* Imperative

This expresses neither force nor involvement.

asi pazi kh'on

'We should (ought to) eat.'

tohi pazivɨ šɔngun

'You ought to sleep.'

8.2.8.5. Negative Imperative (or Prohibitive)

ma or *mɨ* marks the imperative (prohibitive) negative.[2]

ma gatsh garɨ

'Do not go home.'

tsɨ mɨ gatsh garɨ

'You should not go home.'

Note that the prohibitive negative marker occurs before the verb. The following is a prohibitive negative (emphatic) sentence:

tsɨ ma: gatsh gari

'you' 'do not' (emphatic) 'home' 'go'

'Don't go home.'

8.2.9. Negative Sentences

In a negative sentence the negation marker(s) occur both in sentence initial position and following the verb, e.g.,

na bɨ kh'amɨnɨ batɨ

'No, I won't eat any food.'

The sentence initial negator is not obligatory, but may be used for emphasis.

8.2.9.1. The Negativizing Items

In addition to na (or nɨ) negator there is also a class of negativizers which may be treated as negativizing affixes. Consider the following among others (see also 4.8.2.1.).

anɨ

ši:lɨ čhi vuni anɨhəriš

'Sheela is still unmarried.'

bagɛ:r

batɨ d'utɨtham rasɨ bagɛ:r

'You gave me rice without gravy.'

ros

ra:mɨ čhu akliros

'Ram is without any sense.'

8.2.9.2. Distribution of Negativizers

The negativizers may be divided on the basis of their co-occurrence restrictions. Note the following:

1. The Persian prefix be is usually followed by abstract nouns, e.g.,

behayah	'shameless'
bepatsh	'untrustworthy'
bekesu: r	'guiltless'
bevɔphah	'unfaithful'
bešarim	'shameless'

2. The Sanskrit negativizers are restricted to Sanskritized Kashmiri.

n'ar	n'ardu:š	'guiltless
neš	neška:ran	'without reason'

8.2.9.3. Negative Collocations

A number of fixed collocations are used with a negative and/or question marker. Consider, for example, the following:

apzis čhunɨ gɔḍ

'There is no root (base) to falsehood.'

apzis čha: gɔḍ

'Is there any root (base) to falsehood?'

kãh čhunɨ sokhi:

'No one is happy.'

kãh čha: sokhi:

'Is anybody happy?'

kẽh čhu nɨ ro:zɨvun

'Nothing is lasting.L

kẽh čha: ro:zɨvun

'Is there anything lasting?'

8.3. Complex Sentences

There are mainly the following three types of complex sentences.

8.3.1. Conditional

In the initial position, a conditional clause has a conditional marker (e.g., *agar*, cf. conjunctions 4.2.6.1. and 4.6.2.1.1.), and an optional clause linker (e.g., *teli*).

Consider the following:

agar tsị kh'akh batị teli kari: tse do:d

'If you eat food you will get sick.'

If the clause linker is deleted the word order changes in the second clause:

agar tsị kh'akh batị tse kari: do:d

8.3.2. *ki*(*zi*) Complement

A restricted set of verbs may take another clause in complement position introduced by a clause-linker *ki*(*zi*), e.g.,

ra:man dop ki ši:lị chi bema:r

'Ram said that Sheela is sick.'

(For a detailed discussion see 5.2.1., 5.2.1.1. and 5.2.1.2.).

8.3.3. Relative

A relative clause functions as a qualifier in a noun phrase. The relative clauses are introduced by relative pronouns (see 4.3.3.4.).

Consider the following:

so ku:r yosi̠ tati ro:za:n čhi gəyi ra:th səku:l

'That girl who lives there went to school yesterday.'

There may be more than one relative clause in a sentence:

ra:man h'ot su saphe:d maka:ni̠ yus

'Ram' 'bought 'that' 'white' 'house' 'which'

habi̠ kεdli̠ apa:ri čhu yath manz parus

'Habba Kadal' 'across 'is' 'which' 'in' 'last year'

ši:li̠ ε:s ro:za:n[3]

'Sheela' 'was' 'living'

'Ram bought the white house which is on the other side of Habba Kadal in which Sheela lived last year.'

(See also 5.1.2.).

8.4. Compound Sentences

A compound sentence is a sentence which has at least two main clauses. These are linked by conjunctions (see 4.2.6.1.). In a conjoined sentence no conjoined clause is subordinate to the other.

Consider the following sentences:

1. raman čeyi ča:y ti̠ ši:lan kh'av bati̠

   'Ram drank tea and Sheela ate (her) food.'

This sentence is made of the following two conjoined sentences:

a) ra:man čeyi ča:y

b) ši:lan kh:av bati

2. sa:r'ay ko:ri vɔtshi thod

'All the girls got up.'

3. sə:ri: lədki vəth' thod

'All the boys got up.'

After deletion of the identical items the sentences 2 and 3 give:

sa:r'y	ko:ri	ti	lədki	vəth thod
'all'	'girls'	'and'	'boys'	'got up'

Note that a conjoined sentence takes a plural verb.

The process of conjoining needs further investigation. It will be discussed in a forthcoming study.

(See 4.6.2.1. for a detailed discussion on conjunctions.)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For a discussion on the possessive constructions in Kashmiri see Braj B. Kachru, "Some Notes on the Copulative Sentences in Kashmiri" in The Verb 'Be' and Its Synonymns, 3, Supplement to the Foundations of Language.

2. Note that the imperative (prohibitive) negative ma or mɨ may be followed by an honorific suffix (e.g., mahra:, haz, sə:, bi:).

$$\text{ma:(mɨ)} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mahra:} \\ \text{haz} \\ \text{sə:} \\ \text{bi:} \end{array} \right\} \text{gatshiv garɨ}$$

'Don't (honorific) go home.'

3. For this construction the following word order is preferred by some native speakers of Kashmiri.

ra:man h'ot habɨkədlɨ apa:ri su saphe:d maka:nɨ yath manz parus Ši:lɨ ə:s ro:za:n.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A Partial List of Compound Verbs

In translating the compound verbs no attempt has been made to establish a one-to-one correspondence between the Kashmiri item and the English item.

The operators (see 6.2.2., 6.2.2.1., and 6.2.2.2.) given in this partial list may be translated as follows:

a:sun	'to be'
anun	'to bring'
bihun	'to sit'
d'un	'to give'
gatshun	'to go'
n'un	'to take'
p'on	'to fall'
ratun	'to accept'
ro:zun	'to remain'
thavun	'to keep'
tra:vun	'to give up'
tshinun	'to wear'
yun	'to come'

It is evident that a compound verb has a different meaning than the individual meaning of the items in compounded verbs. In this study no attempt has been made to work out the semantics of the compound verbs. We have given below what may be termed the "primary" meanings only.

a:sun

šɔngith a:sun	'to be asleep'
sũ:čith a:sun	'to have (it) thought out'

anun

kəḍith anun	'to pull out'
čhəlith anun	'to wash'
pərith anun	'to have (it) read'
mə̃:ǰith anun	'to clean'
me:rith anun	'to kill'
rəṭith anun	'to get hold of'
survith anun	'to clean'

bihun

ze:gith bihun	'to watch'

d'un

kəḍith d'un	'to take out'
katrith d'un	'to slice (e.g., fruit, vegetable)'
kapṭith d'un	'to cut (e.g., cloth)'
kumlith d'un	'to melt'
ku:rith d'un	'to carve'
gənzrith d'un	'to count'
gənḍith d'un	'to tie'
gə:lith d'un	'to melt'
čə:vith d'un	'to milk'
či:rith d'un	'to squeeze'
tsətith d'un	'to cut'

ts'əlith d'un	'to cram'
tsə:pith d'un	'to chew'
tsɨhith d'un	'to suck'
čhəlith d'un	'to wash'
trə:vith d'un	'to throw away'
pərith d'un	'to read'
pihit d'un	'to grind'
phirith d'un	'to pour'
bə:grith d'un	'to distribute'
məthith d'un	'to smear', 'to rub'
mə:rith d'un	'to kill'
milvith d'un	'to mix'
mi:nith d'un	'to measure'
rənigh d'un	'to cook'
livith d'un	'to mop'
levith d'un	'to lick'
və:ṭith d'un	'to fix'
vɔthrith d'un	'to wipe'
vuṭhith d'un	'to twist'
hə:vith d'un	'to show'

gatshun

kərith gatshun	'to have completed', 'to have finished'
gəlith gatshun	'to melt off'
tsəlith gatshun	'to run away'
tshenith gatshun	'to be torn', 'to be cut', 'to break'

ṭhəgith gatshun	'to be deceived', 'to be duped'
tɔrith gatshun	'to go through (pierce)
dəbith gatshun	'to be compressed'
dith gatshun	'to give'
dobrith gatshun	'to bury'
n'anglith gatshun	'to swallow'
ni:rith gatshun	'to get away'
bihith gatshun	'to sit down
bu:zith gatshun	'to hear'
mərith gatshun	'to die'
mə:rith gatshun	'to kill'
mukrith gatshun	'to settle
yi:ri gatshun	'to float'
rəlith gatshun	'to mix'
ru:zith gatshun	'to stand still'
livith gatshun	'to mop'
vəthith gatshun	'to stand'
vəsith gatshun	'to come down', 'to collapse'
vuǰa:ri gatshun	'to be destroyed'
vuḍith gatshun	'to fly'
šiṭhith gatshun	'to freeze'
šrepith gatshun	'to soak'

n'un

tsihith n'un	'to suck'
phirith n'un	'to pour'

p'on

vo:tith p'on	'to reach', 'to arrive'
vesith p'on	'to fall'
šiṭhith p'on	'to freeze'

raṭun

genzrith raṭun	'to accept after counting'
milvith raṭun	'to accept after mixing'

ro:zun

genḍith ro:zun	'to remain tied'
za:gi ro:zun	'to keep watch'
ḍelith ro:zun	'to remain out of sight'
debith ro:zun	'to remain under control (pressure)'
bihith ro:zun	'to remain sitting'
mi:lith ro:zun	'to remain together'
relith ro:zun	'to remain together'
legith ro:zun	'to remain stuck'
šõgith ro:zun	'to remain asleep'
šrepith ro:zun	'to remain soaked'

thavun

kerith thavun	'to do'
katrith thavun	'to slice (e.g., fruit, vegetable)'
kapṭith thavun	'to cut (e.g., cloth)'
khinzith thavun	'to scratch', 'to tear (e.g., hair, feather)'
genzrith thavun	'to count'

gənḍith thavun	'to tie'
gə:lith thavun	'to melt', 'to destroy'
tsəṭith thavun	'to cut'
tsɨhith thavun	'to suck'
Čhəlith thavun	'to wash'
trukith thavun	'to nibble'
dɨnith thavun	'to shake'
dū:tshrith thavun	'to disarrange'
pərith thavun	'to read'
pihit thavun	'to grind'
puts(ɨ)rith thavun	'to tear'
phirith thavun	'to pour'
məthith thavun	'to rub', 'to smear'
rənith thavun	'to cook'
livith thavun	'to mop'
vɔthrith thavun	'to wipe'
hə:vith thavun	'to show'

tra:vun

katrith tra:vun	'to slice'
khinzith tra:vun	'to tear'
Či:rith tra:vun	'to squeeze'
tsəṭith tra:vun	'to cut'
tsɨhith tra:vun	'to suck'
Čhəlith tra:vun	'to wash'
trukith tra:vun	'to nibble'
dɨnith (dɨnrith) tra:vun	'to shake'

[illegible] tra:vun	'to rub'
l[illegible]ith tra:vun	'to lick'

tshɨnun

keḍith tshɨnun	'to take out', 'to pull out'
kərith tshɨnun	'to do'
katrith tshɨnun	'to cut (e.g., fruit, vegetable)'
kaptith tshɨnun	'to cut (e.g., cloth)'
kumlith tshɨnun	'to melt'
khənith tshɨnun	'to dig'
kh'ath tshɨnun	'to eat'
khinzith tshɨnun	'to tear (e.g., hair, feathers)'
gənzrith tshɨnun	'to count off'
gənḍith tshɨnun	'to tie'
gə:lith tshɨnun	'to melt', 'to destroy'
čə:vith tshɨnun	'to cause to drink', 'to milk'
či:rith tshɨnun	'to squeeze'
tsəṭith tshɨnun	'to tear (e.g., paper, cloth)'
čhəkrith tshɨnun	'to scatter'
ṭhəgith tshɨnun	'to cheat'
trə:vith tshɨnun	'to throw away'
trukith tshɨnun	'to nibble'
dɨnith (dɨnirith) tshɨnun	'to shake'
dü:tshrith tshɨnun	'to disarrange'
dobrith tshɨnun	'to bury'

nəhvith tshinun	'to erase'
n'anglith tshinun	'to swallow'
pihit tshinun	'to grind'
putsrith tshinun	'to tear away'
phirith tshinun	'to pour'
bə:grith tshinun	'to distribute'
məthith tshinun	'to rub'
mə:rith tshinun	'to kill'
milvith tshinun	'to mix'
mi:nith tshinun	'to measure'
yi:ri tshinun	'to cause to float'
rənith tshinun	'to cook'
livith tshinun	'to wipe', 'to mop'
levith tshinun	'to lick'
šroprith tshinun	'to soak'
hə:vith tshinun	'to show'

yun

kumla:vni yun	'to melt'
ku:rni yun	'to be carved'
khinzi yun	'to be scratched'
kho:lni yun	'to be opened', 'to be loosened'
čakra:vni yun	'to feel giddy'
ts'alni yun	'to get crammed'
tshenini yun	'to get out', 'to get torn'
ṭhagni yun	'to be cheated'
ṭha:sni yun	'to be knocked'

dɔbrini yun	'to get buried'
pihni yun	'to be ground'
barni yun	'to get filled', 'to get wet'
mutsra:vni yun	'to get loosened'
ra:vrini yun	'to be lost'
la:yni yun	'to fall'
vəsith yun	'to come down', 'to collapse'
vuṭhni yun	'to get twisted'

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

This glossary is divided into two sections, i.e., Kashmiri-English and English-Kashmiri.

In arranging Kashmiri words we have adopted the order of traditional dictionaries of Hindi printed in the *Devanāgarī* Script.

Note also the following:

1. A short vowel is written before a long vowel, e.g., *asun* 'to laugh' is listed before *a:sun* 'to be'.
2. A nasalized vowel is alphabetized before non-nasalized vowels, e.g., *ə̃:ṭ(h)* 'stone of a fruit' before *ə:ṭh* 'eight'.
3. The items in the English-Kashmiri section are alphabetized according to the order of the English alphabet.
4. As stated in the section on Phonetics and Phonology, /i/ and /yi/ are in free-variation in the initial position. We have listed all these items under /y/, e.g.,

(y)imtiha:n	'an examination'
(y)insa:n	'a person'
(y)idra:r	'urine'
(y)iǰa:zath	'permission'

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
conj.	conjunction
emph.	emphatic
f.	feminine
hon.	honorific
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
int.	intransitive
inter.	interrogative
m.	masculine
n.	noun
part.	participle
plu.	plural
pro.	pronoun
rel.	relative (pronoun)
sing.	singular
v.	verb

ə

əčh (n.f.)	eye
əčhu:t (n.m.)	untouchable
əz' (emph.adv.)	this very day
əḍiǰ (n.f.)	bone
əmi:r (adj.)	rich
ə̃:ṭh (n.f.)	stone of a fruit
ə̃:th (n.m.)	limit or end
ə̃:d' (n.f.)	storm
ə:kɨl (adj.)	wise
ə:khɨr (adv.)	at last, after all
ə:phi:m (n.f.)	opium
ə:b (n.m.)	bad habit
ə:r (n.m.)	plum
ə:l (n.f.)	cardamon (spice)
ə:li:ša:n (adj.)	magnificent, grand

ə:širva:d (n.m.)	blessing
ə:s (n.m.)	mouth
ə:hi: (n.f.)	good wishes

a

ãgre:z (n.)	an Englishman or a westerner
ãḍarve:r (n.m.)	undershirt
akaḍ (n.f.)	stubborness, pride
aksar (adv.)	often
agar (conj.)	if
agarzan (conj.)	if
ača: (adv.)	all right
ačhur (n.m.)	letter of an alphabet
az (n.)	today
adɨmo:r (adj.)	half dead
aḍun (v. inf.)	to be adamant
atur (n.m.)	bad deed
at'a:ča:r (n.m.)	atrocity

adab (n.m.)	manners
adab (n.f.)	literature
ada:lath (n.f.)	court, court house
ada:vath (n.f.)	rivalry
anarth (n.m.)	injustice, unfortunate incident
ana:th (adj.)	orphan
ana:dar karun (v. inf.)	to dishonor
anɨhu:r (adj. m.)	unmarried
anigaṭɨ (n.f.)	darkness
anza:n (adj.)	unacquainted, ignorant
andar (adv.)	inside, in
andɨka:r (n.m.)	darkness
ande:ši (n.m.)	suspicion
ap'ar karun (v. inf.)	to show shallowness
apuz (n.m.)	false
apma:n (n.m.)	disgrace
apri:(e:)l (n.m.)	April
amal karɨn (v. inf.)	to follow

amb (n.f.)	mango
amri:ka: (n.m.)	America
alag (adv.)	separate, apart
alõ:nd (adj.)	hanging
aval (adj.)	first
avastha: (n.f.)	age, condition
aššə̃:ti: (n.f.)	lack of peace
asə:m' (n.f.)	client
asantu:š (n.m.)	dissatisfaction
asar (n.m.)	influence, effect
asun (v. inf.)	to laugh
asma:n (n.m.)	sky
asli: (adj.)	the right one, real
ahanka:r (n.m.)	pride
ah'amsa: (n.f.)	non-violence
ã:gun (n.m.)	courtyard
ã:ča:r (n.m.)	pickles
ã:ph (n.f.)	expectation, hope

a:ka:r (n.m.)	shape
a:g'a:(n.f.)	permission
a:tma: (n.m.)	soul
a:dath (n.m.)	habit
a:darš (n.m.)	ideal
a:nãd (n.m.)	pleasure, bliss
a:prun (v. inf.)	to feed
a:bə:di: (n.f.)	population
a:mdəni: (n.f.)	income
a:r (n.m.)	pity
a:ra:m (n.m.)	rest
a:ra:mtalab (adj.)	ease-loving
a:ra:mdeh (adj.)	comfortable
a:šak (n.)	lover
a:š (n.f.)	hope
a:san (n.m.)	seat, bottom
a:sa:n (adj.)	easy
a:spa:s (adv.)	nearby

o

õgul (n.m.)	finger's breadth
otsh (adj.)	fragile, thin
on (n.m.)	blind person
op (n.m.)	flippant
obur (n.m.)	clouds
oš (n.m.)	tears
o:ţ (n.m.)	flour
o:m (adj. m.)	unripe, raw
o:l (n.m.)	nest
o:luv (n.m.)	potato

k

kə̣t (n.f.)	girl
kən' (n.f.)	stone
kən' kath (n.f.)	secret talk
kəmi:z (n.f.)	shirt
kəši:r (n.f.)	Kashmir
kəhvɨ (n.m.)	Kashmiri tea
kə̃:ṭur (n.m.)	sparrow
kə:d karun (v. inf.)	to imprison
kə:d kha:nɨ (n.m.)	prison
kə:phi: (adj.)	sufficient, enough
kə:m (n.f.)	work
kə:ydɨ (n.m.)	rule
kə:ri:gar (n.m.)	craftsman
kə:vin' (n.f.)	crow
kə:šir (n.f.)	Kashmiri
kə:šur (n.m.)	Kashmiri, Kashmiri language
kə̃h (pro. indef.)	someone, anyone

kačh (n.m.)	green grass, weeds
kaṭo:rɨ (n.m.)	small cup
kaṭh (n.m.)	a ram
kat'an (adv.)	where
katun (v. inf.)	to spin
kath (n.f.)	talk, story
kan (n.m.)	ear
kaniphol (n.m.)	pebble
kaphan (n.m.)	shroud
kamar (n.m.)	waist
kama:vun (v. inf.)	to earn
kampəni: (n.f.)	company
kambakhɨt (adj.)	unfortunate
kaya:mat (n.f.)	doomsday
karɨz (n.m.)	debt
karɨzda:ṛ (n.m.)	debter
karun (v. inf.)	to do
kasam(n.m.)	oath

k'ah (adv.)	what
ka:kad (n.m.)	paper
ka:pi: (n.f.)	notebook
ka:mitsu:r (n.)	one who shirks work
ka:rɨba:r (n.m.)	business, work
ka:rkha:nɨ (n.m.)	factory, workshop
ka:le:ǰ (n.m.)	college
ka:v (n.m.)	a crow
kipha:yat (n.f.)	frugality
kira:yi (n.f.)	rent
kilɨ	fort
kisa:n (n.m.)	peasant
kɨnun (v. inf.)	to sell
kɨsɨm (n.)	kind, type
kũz (n.f.)	key
kun (adj.)	all alone
kul (n.m.)	tree
kušti: (n.f.)	wrestling

ku:ṭhɨr (n.f.)	storeroom
ku:n (n.m.)	corner
ku:šiš (n.f.)	effort
kẽh (adj.)	some
ke:lɨ (n.m.)	banana
koč (adj.)	unripe, raw
koṭ (n.m.)	a boy
kol (adj.)	dumb
k'om (n.m.)	worm, insect
ko:či (n.m.)	alley, lane
ko:tur (n.m.)	pigeon
ko:phu:r (n.m.)	camphor
kɔkarɨm (n.m.)	bad act
kɔkur (n.m.)	a cock
kɔṭ'al (adj.)	crooked
kɔšal (n.m.)	well-being
k'ul (n.m.)	a nail
kra:l (n.m.)	potter

kru:d (n.m.)	anger
kru:r (n.m.)	a well
krẽ:kh (n.m.)	a diamond in a ring

kh

khə:n'sa:ma:n (n.m.)	bearer
khə:li: (adj.)	empty
khakhɨrdin' (v. inf.)	to drag
khari:da:r (n.)	customer
khasun (v. inf.)	to go up, to rise
khã:dar (n.m.)	marriage, wedding
kha:n(ɨ)da:r (n.m.)	head of a household
kha:b (n.m.)	dream
kha:r (n.m.)	blacksmith
khɨn (n.f.)	nasal mucus
khũ:kh (n.m.)	a person with a nasal twang
khu:n (n.m.)	blood
khu:bsu:rat (adj.)	beautiful

khe:l (n.f.)	play, game
khe:lun (v. inf.)	to play
khob (n.m.)	girl's headwear
khol (adj.)	loose
kho:(h)vur (adj.)	left (side)
kho:s (n.m.)	Kashmiri cup
khɔkhur (adj.)	hollow
khɔnɨvaṭh (n.m.)	elbow
khɔr (n.m.)	foot
khɔš nəsi:b (adj.)	lucky
kh'atsɨr (n.f.)	khichri
kh'ama: (n.f.)	forgiveness

g

gəṭhɨr (n.f.)	bundle, package
gəzrun (v. inf.)	to count
gər (n.f.)	a watch
gəri:b (adj.)	poor
gəhnɨ (n.m.)	jewelry
gə̃:ṭh (n.f.)	eagle
gə:ḍ' (n.f.)	wagon
gə:n' (n.f.)	a prostitute
gagur (n.m.)	rat
gatshun (v. inf.)	to go
gaz (n.m.)	yard
gaṭɨka:r (n.m.)	extreme darkness, storm
gaṭɨzol (n.m.)	heavy storm
ganṭɨ (n.m.)	hour
ganḍun (v. inf.)	to tie
gam (n.m.)	sorrow, grief, anxiety

garaz (n.m.)	interest, concern
garmi: (n.f.)	heat
galath (adj.)	wrong
ga:ṭɨ (n.m.)	loss
ga:ṭul (adj.)	wise person
ga:brun (v. inf.)	to be afraid, to get nervous
ga:muk (adj.)	a villager
ga:v (n.f.)	cow
ga:š (n.f.)	light
guza:rɨ (n.m.)	sustenance
gur (n.m.)	horse
guh (n.m.)	cow dung
gu:r (n.m.)	milkman
ge:run (v. inf.)	to encircle
gõd (n.m.)	bouquet
god (n.m.)	hole
gobur (n.m.)	son
go:l (adj.)	round

gɔḍ (n.m.)	ankle
gɔḍɨ kor (n.m.)	anklet
gɔb'ar (n.m.)	heaviness
gɔr (n.m.)	teacher, guide
gɔlə:mi:(n.f.)	slavery
gɔsalkha:nɨ (n.m.)	bathroom
gɔsɨ (n.m.)	anger
g'av (n.m.)	clarified butter, *ghee*
g'avun (v. inf.)	to sing
grəh(ə)st (n.m.)	family
gra:hak (n.m.)	client, customer

č

čanɨ (n.m.)	chick-peas
čandɨ (n.m.)	pocket
čaprə:s' (n.m.)	peon, janitor
čamči (n.m.)	spoon
čamḍɨ (n.m.)	leather
čarɨb (n.m.)	fat (animal)
ča:pɨr' (adj.)	talkative
ča:run (v. inf.)	to tighten up
ča:rpa:y (n.f.)	bed
ča:lə:ki: (n.f.)	cleverness
ča:la:kh (adj.)	clever
čikh (n.f.)	scream
čilim (n.f.)	cap of hubble-bubble
čust (adj.)	active
ču:k'dar (n.)	watchman, gatekeeper
če:lɨ (n.)	disciple
čon (v. inf.)	to drink

čŏčɨ (n.m.)	ladle
čõ:ṭh (n.m.)	mouth
čo:ṭ	bruise
čɔgɨ (n.m.)	robe

čh

čhəkra:vun (v. inf.)	to spill
čhakɨr (n.f.)	a type of Kashmiri group song
čhakun (v. inf.)	to sprinkle, to spill
čhapa:vun (v. inf.)	to print
čhal (n.f.)	piece
čhalun (v. inf.)	to wash
čha:n (n.m.)	carpenter
čha:nun (v. inf.)	to sift
čha:vun (v. inf.)	to hit
čhot (adj.)	grey
čhon (adv.)	short of correct measure

ts

tsər (n.f.)	sparrow
tsaṭun (v. inf.)	to cut, to tear
tsar (n.m.)	bedbug
tsalun (v. inf.)	to escape, to run away
tsa:nun (v. inf.)	to bring in, to push in
tsa:man (n.f.)	cheese
tsa:run (v. inf.)	to select
tsa:lun (v. inf.)	to bear, to tolerate
tsa:s (n.f.)	cough
tsɨnun (n.m.)	peach
tsɨhun (v. inf.)	to suck
tse:nun (v. inf.)	to feel, to bear
tse:r (n.m.)	delay
tse:r (n.f.)	an apricot
tsok (adj.)	sour
tsõ:g (n.m.)	earthen lamp
tsrɨngun (v. inf.)	to jump with joy

tsh

tshaṭun (v. inf.)	to winnow
tshaṭh (n.f.)	the wind
tshã:ṭh va:yin' (v. inf.)	to swim
tshã:ḍun (v. inf.)	to search
tsha:vul (n.m.)	goat
tshoṭ (adj.)	short (size)
tsh'ənɨra:vun (v. inf.)	to cut, to tear
tsh'anun (v. inf.)	to be torn

ǰ

ǰə:gi:r (n.m.)	estate
ǰə:girda:r (n.m.)	landlord
ǰãgul (n.m.)	forest
ǰaldi: (n.f.)	haste
ǰavə:ni: (n.f.)	youth
ǰava:b (n.m.)	answer
ǰahal (n.m.)	anger

ǰaha:zɨ (n.m.)	ship, plane
ǰahnam (n.m.)	hell
ǰã:gur karun (v. inf.)	to create confusion
ǰa:da:d (n.m.)	property
ǰa:n (adj.)	good
ǰa:pa:n (n.m.)	Japan
ǰa:y (n.f.)	place
ǰu:r' (n.f.)	pair
ǰeǰi:r (n.f.)	hubble bubble
ǰɔla:bɨ (n.m.)	purgative

z

zəṭ (n.f.)	rag
zən' (n.f.)	woman
zəmi:n (n.f.)	land
zəmi:nda:r (n.m.)	landlord
zəru:r (adv.)	certainly
zəru:rath (n.)	necessity

zakhɨm (n.m.)	wound
zang (n.f.)	leg
zaph karun (v. inf.)	to offer prayer, to count one's beads
zabardəsti: (n.f.)	compulsion
zama:nɨ (n.m.)	age, period
zama:nath (n.f.)	bail
zar (n.m.)	deafness
zalur (n.m.)	spider
za:gun (v. inf.)	to watch
za:th (n.f.)	caste, surname
za:nun (v. inf.)	to know
za:m (n.f.)	husband's sister
za:mɨtur (n.m.)	son-in-law
za:mut dɔd (n.m.)	yogurt
za:r (n.m.)	gambling
za:l (n.m.)	net
za:lun (v. inf.)	to burn
zikhir (n.f.)	whooping cough

zitin' (n.f.)	spark
zid (n.m.)	insistance, enmity
zindɨ (adj.)	alive
zindɨgi: (n.f.)	life
zipɨkarni (v. inf.)	to be half asleep, to doze
zi:n (n.m.)	saddle
zɨl (n.m.)	scratch
zulum (n.m.)	cruelty
ze:nun (v. inf.)	to win, to earn
zod (n.m.)	hole
zon (n.m.)	person
zor (adj. m.)	deaf
zo:r (n.m.)	force
zɔ̃gɨr'o:mut (n.m.)	a spent thing, wasted
zɔpɨ (adj.)	meek
zɔv (n.f.)	louse
z'atɨ (n.m.)	cinders
z'al (n.f.)	cream of yogurt

z'av (n.f.)	tongue
z'aval (n.)	backbiter
z'a:dɨtar (adv.)	mostly
z'uṭh (adj.)	elder
z'u:ṭh (adj.)	long
z'on (v. inf.)	to be born

ṭ

ṭã:gɨ (n.m.)	horse driven carriage
ṭa:lun (v. inf.)	to avoid
ṭɨkun (v. inf.)	to run
ṭu:kɨr (n.f.)	basket
ṭukrɨ (n.m.)	piece
ṭoṭ (n.m.)	pony
ṭo:ṭh (n.m.)	dear, the loved one
ṭo:r (n.m.)	eyelid

ṭh

ṭhãḍ (n.f.)	cold
ṭhag (n.m.)	cheat
ṭhagun (v. inf.)	to cheat
ṭha:nɨ (n.m.)	cover, lid
ṭhup (n.m.)	cage
ṭhu:l (n.m.)	egg
ṭhoṭh (n.m.)	pillar of a bridge

ḍ

ḍə̃:ṭun (v. inf.)	to rebuke
ḍanḍɨ (n.m.)	a stick
ḍabɨ (n.m.)	box
ḍalun (v. inf.)	to move
ḍẽ:b (n.m.)	mire
ḍomb (n.m.)	intestines
ḍɔḍ (adj.)	one and a half
ḍ'ol (adj.)	loose

t

təmi:zɨ (n.m.)	manners
təhər (n.f.)	yellow rice (cooked)
tə:ǰub (n.m.)	wonder
tə:r (n.f.)	delay
tə:ri:kh (n.m.)	date
tat'ath (adv.)	there
tan(ɨ)kha: (n.m.)	salary
tabdi:li: (n.f.)	a transfer
tama:ši (n.m.)	toy
tamo:k (n.m.)	tobacco
tarun (v. inf.)	to cross
talun (v. inf.)	to fry
talva:r (n.f.)	sword
tasvi:r (n.m.)	picture
ta:ǰ (n.m.)	crown
ta:zɨ (adj.)	fresh
ta:r (n.f.)	wire, cable

ta:rakh (n.m.)	stars
ta:la:b (n.m.)	pond
ta:s (n.m.)	playing cards
tɨr (n.f.)	a piece of rag
tɨ:r (n.f.)	cold
tulɨkatur (n.m.)	ice
tu:n (n.m.)	navel
te:z (adj.)	sharp, fast
te:l (n.m.)	sesame seed
tot (adj.)	hot
t'ɜgul (n.m.)	live coal
t'ol (n.m.)	jealousy
tra:vun (v. inf.)	to give up, to drop

th

thəthɨr (n.f.)	prickly heat
thər (n.f.)	branch of a tree
thakun (v. inf.)	to be tired

than (n.)	udders
thaph karɨn' (v. inf.)	to hold
tham (n.m.)	pillar
thar (n.f.)	back of the body
thavun (v. inf.)	to put down, to place
tha:nɨ (n.m.)	a police station
tha:nɨda:r (n.m.)	officer in charge of a police station
tha:l (n.m.)	Kashmiri eating place
thod (adj.)	tall
thop (n.m.)	block
thɔth (n.m.)	interference

d

dəčhun (adj.)	right (side)
də:n (n.m.)	pomegranate
də:r (n.f.)	beard
də:r (n.f.)	window

dag (n.f.)	pain
dazun (v. inf.)	to get burnt
datur (n.m.)	thorn-apple
danɨ (n.m.)	money, wealth
dand (n.m.)	tooth
damɨ (n.m.)	asthma
darva:zɨ (n.m.)	door
dava:th (n.f.)	inkpot
da:g (n.m.)	spot
da:n (n.m.)	traditional oven
da:run (v. inf.)	to hold
da:r'al (adj.)	a bearded person
da:lɨ (n.m.)	leather
dil (n.m.)	heart
dɨh (n.m.)	smoke
du:r (n.m.)	an earring
du:r (adv.)	far
dob (n.m.)	washerman

do:st (n.)	friend
dɔkh (n.m.)	trouble
dɔd (n.m.)	milk
dɔb (n.m.)	a ditch
d'a:r (n,m.)	money, wealth
drog (adj.)	expensive

n

nər (n.f.)	arm
nə:r (n.f.)	earthen vessel
nakli: (adj.)	artificial
natsun (v. inf.)	to dance
naza:kath (n.f.)	tenderness, delicacy
nanɨvo:r (adj.)	barefooted
naphrat (n.f.)	hatred
nab (n.m.)	sky
nam (n.m.)	nail
nayšakar (n.m.)	sugarcane

naši (n.m.)	haughtiness, intoxication
nas (n.f.)	nose
na:g (n.m.)	spring (of water)
na:d (v. inf.)	to call
na:r (n.m.)	fire
na:lɨmot (n.m.)	embrace
na:ṭukh (n.m.)	drama
nu:l (n.m.)	mongoose
nečuv (n.m.)	son
ne:k(h)nə:mi: (n.f.)	fame
noṭ (n.m.)	earthen pitcher
non (adj.)	clear, exposed
nov (adj.)	new
n'athɨnon (adj.)	naked
n'andɨr (n.f.)	sleep
n'un (v. inf.)	to take
n'u:l (n.m.)	blue
n'eni (n.f.)	mutton
n'ɔṭh (n.m.)	thumb

p

pəǰ' (n.f.)	a big basket
pət'um (adv.)	last
pəthɨr (n.m.)	floor
pəh(ɨ)lva:n (n.)	wrestler
pə̃:sɨ (n.f.)	hundredth part of a rupee
pə:ǰa:mɨ (n.m.)	trousers
pagah (n.)	tomorrow
pac̆hta:vun (v. inf.)	to repent, to regret
patangɨ (n.m.)	kite
path (adv.)	behind
panɨpõ:pur (n.m.)	a butterfly
panɨvəthɨr (n.m.)	leaf (of a tree)
pare:šə:ni: (n.f.)	worry
parun (v. inf.)	to read, to study
par'un (n.m.)	sieve
parus (adv.)	last year

pah (n.f.)	manure
pa:gal (adj.)	mad
pa:ph (n.m.)	sin
pa:yda:r (adj.)	lasting, durable
pa:liš (pə:liš) (n.f.)	polish
pišul (adj	slippery
pihun (v. inf.)	to grind
pu:ṭh (adj.)	strong
pe:č (n.m.)	screw
pop (adj. m.)	ripe
pormut l'u:khmut (adj. m.)	literate, educated
po:ṭ (n.m.)	silk thread
po:n' (n.m.)	water
pɔn' (n.m.)	good deed
p'əts (n.f.)	a kind of straw
prasun (v. inf.)	to give birth

ph

phɔki:r (n.m.)	beggar
phər (n.f.)	roasted fish
phəriya:d karun (v. inf.)	to plead
phə:ydɨ (n.m.)	profit, use
phə:slɨ (n.m.)	a decision
phakh (n.m.)	stink
phaph'ar (n.m.)	stammering
phamb (n.m.)	cotton
pharɨkh (n.f.)	difference
pharun (v. inf.)	to steal
phasa:d (n.m.)	dispute
phasɨl (n.m.)	crop
phasun (v. inf.)	to get caught
pha:rsi: (n.m.)	Persian
ph'al (n.m.)	a boil
phaṭun (v. inf.)	to break
phaṭul (n.m.)	a bundle

pho:ǯ (n.m.)	army
pho:ran (adv.)	immediately
ph'ok (n.m.)	shoulder
phru:ts ne:run (v. inf.)	to cause to bring good luck
phurti: (n.f.)	agility

b

bə̃:th (n.m.)	bamboo
bə:grun (v. inf.)	to distribute
bə:ts (n.m.)	members of a family
bə:z'gar (n.m.)	juggler
b^{ə}:th (n.m.)	song(s)
bagva:n (n.m.)	God
bači (n.m.)	child
baza:z (n.m.)	cloth merchant
batɨ (n.m.)	Kashmiri Pandit
batɨ (n.m.)	food, cooked rice
batukh (n.m.)	duck

badza:th (adj.)	corrupt
badna:m (adj.)	infamous
badmə:ši:(n.)	loose morals, mischief
bangə:l' (n.)	Bengali
banga:l (n.m.)	Bengal
bar (n.m.)	door
bara:bar (adj.)	equal
barsa:th (n.m.)	rainy season, monsoons
bã:g (n.f.)	crowing of a cock
ba:kɨy (adj.)	the rest
ba:g (n.m.)	garden
ba:gva:n (n.m.)	gardener
ba:g'va:n (adj.)	lucky
ba:ǰi (n.m.)	musical instrument
ba:zar (n.m.)	market, shopping area
ba:dšah (n.m.)	king
ba:r (n.m.)	weight

ba:vɨz (n.f.)	brother's daughter
bɨ (pro.)	I
bistarɨ (n.m.)	bedding
bũgɨr (n.f.)	bangle
bunya:d (n.f.)	foundation
burɨ (adj.)	bad
buḍɨ (n.m.)	old man
bu:n' (n.f.)	maple tree (chinar)
beho:š gatšhun (v. inf.)	to faint
be:čhun (v. inf.)	to beg
be:zti: (n.f.)	a rebuke
be:phikir (adj.)	unworried
be:v(ɨ)ku:ph (n.)	fool
boṭh (n.m.)	bank (of a river)
bo:zun (v. inf.)	to listen
borbə:di: (n.f.)	destruction
bɔd (n.f.)	good sense
b'aka:r (adj.)	unemployed, useless

b eni (n.f.)	sister
b'o: l (n.m.)	seed
brahmun (n.m.)	Brahmin
brõ: ṭhɨkani (adv.)	in front
bro: r (n.m.)	cat

m

məčh (n.f.)	a fly
məǯlis (n.f.)	group
məzu: r (n.m.)	labourer
mədre: r (n.m.)	sugar
məši: d (n.f.)	mosque
məhlɨ (n.m.)	neighborhood, locality
məhšu: r (adj.)	famous
mõ: z (n.f.)	myrtle
mə: ǯ (n.f.)	mother
mə: dɨ (n.m.)	flour
mə: likh (n,m.)	master, owner

maka:nɨ (n.m.)	house
mazbu:t (adj.)	strong
mazhab (n.m.)	religion
mathun (v. inf.)	to rub
madath (n.m.)	help
manzu:r karun (v. inf.)	to accept
mandar (n.m.)	Hindu Temple
manhu:s (adj.)	unsociable
marɨd (n.m.)	male
malə:y (n.f.)	cream
mas (n.m.)	hair (on the head)
mast (adj.)	jolly, carefree
maslan (adv.)	for example
maharə:ni: (n.f.)	queen
mahara:ǰ (n.m.)	king
maharen' (n.f.)	bride
maha:ra:zɨ (n.m.)	bridegroom
mahra: (hon.)	sir

ma:tɨhat (adj.)	subordinate
ma:ta:ma:l (n.m.)	mother's parents' home
ma:nun (v. inf.)	to accept
ma:nma:n (n.f.)	competition
ma:m (n.m.)	maternal uncle
ma:y (n.f.)	affection, love
ma:run (v. inf.)	to kill, to beat
ma:l (n.f.)	garland
ma:l'un (n.m.)	married woman's parents' home
ma:s (n.f.)	mother's sister
ma:suv (n.m.)	mother's sister's husband
miṭhə:y (n.f.)	candies, Indian sweets
miši:n (n.f.)	machine
mukdimɨ (n.m.)	lawsuit
muniš (n.m.)	clerk
musalma:n (n.m.)	Muslim
muhril (n.m.)	clerk

mehərbə:ni (n.f.)	kindness
me:kh (n.f.)	a nail
me:nun (v. inf.)	to measure
moṭ (adj.)	thick
mot (adj.)	mad, insane
mohta:ǰ (adj.)	dependent
mo:kɨ (n.m.)	opportunity
mo:zɨ (n.m.)	socks
mo:ṭar (n.m.)	automobile
mo:l (n.m.)	father
m'əts (n.f.)	earth
m'u:ṭh (n.m.)	kiss on the forehead

Y

yakra:r (n.m.)	acceptance
yakh (n.m.)	ice
yakhtiya:r (n.)	right, authority
yakhdam (adv.)	at once

yatshun (v. inf.)	to desire
yad (n.f.)	belly
yam (n.m.)	God of death
ya:da:št (n.m.)	memory
ya:r (n.m.)	friend
(y)idra:r (n.m.)	urine
(y)inka:r (n.m.)	denial
(y)intiza:m (n.m.)	arrangement
(y)insa:n (n.m.)	person
(y)insa:ph (n.m.)	justice
(y)imtiha:n (n.m.)	examination
(y)iša:rɨ (n.m.)	hint
(y)i:šar (n.m.)	God
yun (v. inf.)	to come
yus (rel. pro.)	who
yunivarsiti: (n.f.)	university

r

rakh (n.f.)	a place reserved for hunting
račhun (v. inf.)	to nourish, to raise
raz (n.f.)	rope
rath (n.m.)	blood
ranun (v. inf.)	to cook
rang (n.m.)	color
rangur (n.m.)	dyer
rab (n.f.)	mud
rabaḍ (n.m.)	rubber
raba:b (n.m.)	a musical instrument
ras (n.m.)	gravy
ra:zɨ (n.m.)	king
ra:zɨmah (n.f.)	beans
ra:tɨkrɨ:l (n.m.)	bat
ra:tɨmɔgul (n.m.)	owl
ra:th (n.f.)	night, yesterday

ra:n (n.f.)	thigh
ra:vun (v. inf.)	to lose
rɨ:ṭh (n.f.)	incessant cry
rɨkh (n.f.)	a line
rukun (v. inf.)	to stop
ru:gi: (adj.)	diseased, sick
ru:d (n.m.)	rain
ru:n (n.m.)	husband
ru:si:(n)	Russian
reh (n.f.)	flame
re:l (n.f.)	a train
ro:zun (v. inf.)	to stay
rɔni (n.m.)	bell(s)
rɔpay (n.f.)	a rupee
rɔph (n.m.)	silver
r'akh (n.f.)	bird dropping
r'al (n.f.)	a piece of cloth, land or wood

l

lənḍ (n.f.)	branch of a tree
lər (n.f.)	house
lə:zim (adj.)	necessary, essential
lə:r (n.m.)	cucumber
latshul (n.m.)	broom
lazath (n.m.)	taste
laḍun (v. inf.)	to fight
lang (n.m.)	thigh
labun (v. inf.)	to find
lamun (v. inf.)	to pull
la:gun (v. inf.)	to pretend
la:yun (v. inf.)	to beat, to hit
la:l (n.m.)	pupil of an eye
lu:kh (n.m. plu.)	people
loṭ (n.m.)	tail
lot (adj.)	light in weight

long (adj.)	lame
lo:l (n.m.)	love, affection
l'aha:zɨ (n.m.)	regard
l'ob (n.m.)	a lump

V

və:ǰ (n.f.)	ring
vaguv (n.m.)	traditional Kashmiri straw mat
vath (n.f.)	path
vathrun (n.m.)	bedding
vanun (v. inf.)	to say
v'avha:r (n.m.)	treatment
v'as (n.f.)	a girl friend
vã:gun (n.m.)	egg-plant, brinjal
va:zɨ (n.m.)	cook
va:ṭun (v. inf.)	to fix, to connect
va:tul (n.m.)	sweeper, scavenger
va:dɨ (n.m.)	promise

va:n (n.m.)	shop
vi:r (n.f.)	willow
v'ath (n.)	The Jehlu̇m River
vuǰa:ḍɨ (adj.)	deserted, ruined
vudampo:r (n.m.)	Udampur (place name)
vučhun (v. inf.)	to see
vuzɨmal (n.f.)	lightning
vuṭh (n.m.)	lip(s)
vunal (n.f.)	mist
vumbɨr (n.f.)	age
vũ:ṭh (n.m.)	camel
votsh (n.m.)	calf
vohvun (v. inf.)	to abuse, to curse
vo:nun (v. inf.)	to knit
vo:run (v. inf.)	to babble

š

šakh (n.m.)	doubt, suspicion
šath (n.)	hundred

šab (n.m.)	night
šabnam (n.m.)	dew
šarɨm (n.f.)	coyness, bashfulness
ša:n (n.f.)	grandure
ša:nɨ (n.m.)	back of the shoulders
šišargə̃:ṭh (n.f.)	icicle
ši:n (n.m.)	snow
ši:rɨ (n.m.)	juice
šutɨl' (n.m.)	smallpox
šur (n.)	child
šus (adj.)	reduced
šuhul (n.m.)	cool
šũhul (n.m.)	shade
šo:kh (n.m.)	desire
šo:r (n.m.)	noise
šru:ts (adj.)	pure
šrog (adj.)	inexpensive, cheap

s

səhəl (adj.)	easy
sakhar (n.f.)	preparation
saǰa:vun (v. inf.)	to decorate
sata:vun (v. inf.)	to tease
sath (n.f.)	hope
santo:š (n.m.)	satisfaction
sanda:run (v. inf.)	to come round, to recover
sapha: (adj.)	clean
saphe:d (adj.)	white
sabɨz (adj.)	green
sabɨr (n.f.)	patience
samǰun (v. inf.)	to understand
samba:lun (v. inf.)	to repair, to take care of
sar (n.m.)	pond
sa:d (n.m.)	a Hindu saint
sa:ph (adj.)	clean, clear

sa:yi (n.m.)	shade
sa:lur (n.m.)	a guest
sipah (n.m.)	soldier
siri (n.m.)	sun
si:r (n.f.)	brick
si:vak (n.m.)	servant
sɨtsan (n.f.)	needle
sɨh (n.m.)	tiger, lion
su (pro. m.)	he
susti: (n.f.)	laziness
su:r (n.m.)	ashes
sekh (n.f.)	sand
son (adj.)	deep
so:zun (v. inf.)	to send
so:n (adj.)	our
so:r (n.m.)	pig
so:run (v. inf.)	to become exhausted
sɔn (n.m.)	gold

sɔn (n.f.)	co-wife
sɔnɨ gobur (n.m.)	a well-behaved boy
sɔrɨg (n.m.)	paradise
s'azar (n.m.)	simplicity, straightforwardness
s'aṭha: (adj.)	much
s'as (n.f.)	cyst

h

hɵṭ (n.f.)	a piece of wood
hər (n.f.)	a piece of wood
hɵsti: (n.f.)	personality
hɵhər (n.m.)	wife's brother
hɵ:r (n.f.)	myna
hə:rath (n.f.)	estonishment
hakh (n.m.)	right (e.g., political right)
haṭun (v. inf.)	to move
har (n.f.)	quarrel

harud (n.m.)	autumn
havas gatshun (v. inf.)	to have a desire
havah (n.m.)	the wind
haš (n.f.)	mother-in-law
ha:r (n.f.)	necklace
ha:r (n.f.)	defeat
hisɨ (n.)	part
hu (pro. m.)	he, that
hu:n (n.m.)	dog
hots (n.m.)	wrist
hoṭ (n.m.)	throat
hos (n.m.)	elephant
ho:r (dem. pro.)	there
ho:(h)vur (n.m.)	in-laws
ho:slɨ (n.m.)	manners
h'ang (n.m.)	horn
h'amath (n.f.)	courage

English-Kashmiri

A

to abuse	vohvun (v. inf.)
to accept	ma:nun, manzu:r karun (v. inf.)
acceptance	yakra:r (n.m.)
active	čust (adj.)
to be adamant	aḍun (v.)
affection	ma:y (n.f.)
to be afraid	ga:brun (v. inf.)
after all	ɵ:khɨr (adv.)
age	vumbɨr, avastha: (n.f.)
agility	phurti: (n.f.)
alive	zindɨ (adj.)
all alone	kun (adj. m.)
alley	ko:či (n.m.)
all right	ačha: (adv.)
America	amri:ka: (n.m.)

anger	kru:d, gɔsɨ, ǰahal (n.m.)
ankle	gɔḍ (n.m.)
anklet	gɔdɨ kor (n.m.)
answer	ǰava:b (n.m.)
anyone	kãh (pro. indef.)
apart	alag (adv.)
an apricot	tse:r (n.f.)
April	apri:(e:)l (n.m.)
arm	nər (n.f.)
army	pho:ǰ (n.m.)
arrangement	yintiza:m (n.m.)
artificial	nakli: (adj.)
ashes	su:r (n.m.)
asthma	damɨ (n.m.)
astonishment	hə:rath (n.m.)
at last	ə:khɨr (adv.)
at once	yakhdam (adv.)
atrocity	atia:ča:r (n.m.)

authority	yakhtiya: r (n.)
automobile	mo: ṭar (n.m.)
autumn	harud (n.m.)
to avoid	ṭa:lun (v. inf.)

B

to babble	vo: run (v. inf.)
back (of the body)	thar (n.f.)
backbiter	z'aval (n.)
bad	burɨ (adj.)
bad act	kɔkarɨm (n.m.)
bad deed	atur (n.m.)
bad habit	ɛ:b (n.m.)
bail	zama:nath (n.f.)
bamboo	bə̃: th (n.m.)
banana	ke: lɨ (n.m.)
bangle	bũgɨr (n.f.)
bank (of a river)	boṭh (n.m.)

bare-footed	nanɨvo:r (adj.)
basket	ṭu:kɨr (n.f.)
bat	ra:tɨ krɨ:l (n.m.)
bathroom	gɔsal kha:nɨ (n.m.)
beans	ra:zɨmah (n.f.)
to bear	tsa:lun (v. inf.)
beard	də:r (n.f.)
a bearded person	da:r'al (adj.)
bearer	khə:n' sa:ma:n (n.m.)
to beat	la:yun, ma:run (v. inf.)
beautiful	khu:b su:rat (adj.)
bed	ča:rpa:y (n.f.)
bed bug	tsar (n.)
bedding	bistarɨ, vathrun (n.m.)
to beg	be:čhun (v. inf.)
a beggar	phəki:r (n.m.)
behind	path (adv.)
bell(s)	rɔni (n.m.)

Bengal	banga:l (n.m.)
Bengali	bangə:l' (n.)
betrothal	ganḍun (n.m.)
bird dropping	r'akh (n.f.)
blacksmith	kha:r (n.m.)
blessing	ə:širva:d (n.m.)
blind person	on (n.m.)
block	thop (n.m.)
blood	khu:n, rath (n.m.)
blue	n'u:l (n.m.)
a boil	ph'al (n.m.)
bone	əḍiǰ (n.f.)
to be born	z'on (v. inf.)
a bouquet	gŏd (n.m.)
box	dabɨ (n.m.)
a boy	koṭ, laḍkɨ (n.m.)
branch (of a tree)	thər (n.f.)
to break	phuṭun (v. inf.)

brick	si:r (n.f.)
bridegroom	maha:ra:zɨ (n.m.)
to bring in	tsa:nun (v. inf.)
broom	latshul (n.m.)
brother's daughter	ba:vɨz (n.f.)
bruise	čo:ṭ (n.f.)
bundle	gəṭhɨr (n.f.)
to burn	za:lun (v.inf.)
to be burnt	dazun (v. inf.)
business	ka:rɨba:r (n.m.)
butterfly	panɨpõ:pur (n.m.)

C

cable	ta:r (n.f.)
cage	ṭhup (n.m.)
calf	votsh (n.m.)
to call	na:d d'un (v. inf.)
camel	vũ:ṭh (n.m.)

camphor	ko:phu:r (n.m.)
candies	miṭhə:y (n.f.)
cap	ṭu:p' (n.f.)
cardamon (spice)	ə:l (n.f.)
carpenter	čha:n (n.m.)
caste	za:th (n.f.)
cat	bro:r (n.m.)
(to get) caught	phasun (v. inf.)
certainly	zəru:r (adv.)
cheat	ṭhag (n.m.)
to cheat	ṭhagun (v. inf.)
cheese	tsa:mən (n.f.)
chick peas	čani̳ (n.m.)
child	bači, šur (n.)
cinders	z'ati̳ (n.m.)
cist	s'as (n.f.)
clarified butter	g'av (n.m.)
clean	sapha:, sa:ph (adj.)

clear	non, sa:ph (adj.)
clerk	muhril, muniš (n.m.)
clever	ča:la:kh (adj.)
cleverness	ča:lə:ki: (n.f.)
client	asə:m' (n.f.), gra:kh (n.m.)
cloth merchant	baza:z (n.m.)
clouds	obur (n.m.)
coal	tsɨn' (n.f.)
cock	kɔkur (n.m.)
cold	tɨ:r, ṭhə̃ḍ (n.f.)
college	ka:le:ǰ (n.m.)
color	rang (n.m.)
comfortable	a:ra:mdeh (n.)
company	kampəni: (n.f.)
competition	ma:nma:n (n.f.)
compulsion	zabardəsti: (n.f.)
conch	šẽ:kh (n.m.)
condition	ha:lath, avastha: (n.f.)

to connect	va:ṭun (v. inf.)
cook	va:zɨ (n.m.)
to cook	ranun (v. inf.)
cool	šuhul, ṭhanḍɨ (n.m.)
corner	ku:n (n.m.)
corrupt	badza:th (adj.)
cotton	phamb (n.m.)
cough	tsa:s (n.f.)
to count	gənzrun (v. inf.)
courage	h'amath (n.f.)
court	ada:lath (n.f.)
a court case	mukdimɨ (n.m.)
courtyard	ã:gun (n.m.)
cover	ṭha:nɨ (n.m.)
cow	ga:v (n.f.)
cow dung	guh (n.m.)
co-wife	sɔn (n.f.)
coyness	šarɨm (n.f.)

craftsman	kɵ:ri:gar (n.m.)
cream	malə:y (n.f.)
crooked	kɔṭ'al (adj.)
crops	phasɨl (n.m.)
to cross	tarun (v. inf.)
crow	ka:v (n.m.)
crowing (of a cock)	bã:g (n.f.)
crown	ta:ǰ (n.m.)
cruelty	zulum (n.m.)
cucumber	lə:r (n.m.)
cup	kho:s, p'a:lɨ, kaṭo:rɨ (n.m.)
customer	khari:da:r, gra:kh (n.m.)
to cut	tsaṭun, tsh'ənra:vun (v. inf.)

D

to dance	natsun (v. inf.)
darkness	anigaṭɨ (n.f.)
date	tɵ:ri:kh (n.m.)
deaf	zor (adj. m.)

deafness	zar (n.m.)
dear one	ṭo:ṭh (n.m.)
debt	karɨz (n.m.)
debtor	karɨzda:r (n.)
decision	phɔ:slɨ (n.m.)
to decorate	saǰa:vun (v. inf.)
deep	son (adj.)
defeat	šikast (n.m.), ha:r (n.f.)
delay	tse:r (n.m.)
denial	yinka:r (n.m.)
dependent	mohta:ǰ (adj.)
deserted	vuǰa:ḍɨ (adj.)
desire	šo:kh (n.m.)
to desire	yatshun (v. inf.)
destruction	borbɔ:di: (n.f.)
dew	šabnam (n.m.)
difference	pharɨkh (n.f.)
disciple	če:lɨ (n.)

diseased	ru:gi:, be:ma:r (adj.)
disgrace	apma:n (n.m.)
to dishonor	ana:dar karun (v. inf.)
dispute	phasa:d (n.m.)
to disrespect	ana:dar karun (v. inf.)
dissatisfaction	asantu:š (n.m.)
to distribute	bə:grun (v. inf.)
a ditch	dɔb (n.m.)
to do	karun (v. inf.)
dog	hu:n (n.m.)
doomsday	kaya:mat (n.f.)
door	bar, darva:zɨ (n.m.)
doubt	šakh (n.m.)
to doze	zipɨ karni (v. inf.)
to drag	khakhɨr din' (v. inf.)
drama	na:ṭukh (n.m.)
dream	kha:b (n.m.)
to drink	čon (v. inf.)

to drop	tra:vun (v. inf.)
duck	batukh (n.m.)
dumb	kol (adj. m.)
dyer	rangur (n.m.)

E

eagle	gə̄:ṭh (n.f.)
ear	kan (n.m.)
to earn	kama:vun, ze:nun (v. inf.)
an earring	du:r (n.m.)
earth	m'əts (n.f.)
an earthen lamp	tsõ:g (n.m.)
ease loving	a:ra:m talab (n.m.)
easy	a:sa:n, səhal (adj.)
eating plate	tha:l (n.m.)
educated	pormut l'u:khmut (adj. m.)
effect	asar (n.m.)
effort	ku:šiš (n.f.)

egg	ṭhu:l (n.m.)
egg plant	vã:gun (n.m.)
elbow	khɔnɨvaṭh (n.m.)
elder	z'uṭh (adj. m.)
elephant	hos (n.m.)
embrace	na:lɨmot (n.m.)
empty	khə:li: (adj.)
to encircle	ge:run (v. inf.)
an Englishman	ãgre:z (n.m.)
enmity	zid (n.m.)
enough	kə:phi: (adj.)
equal	bara:bar (adj.)
to escape	tsalun (v. inf.)
estate	ǰə:gi:r (n.m.)
example	misa:l (n.f.)
(to become) exhausted	so:run (v. inf.)
expectation	ã:ph (n.f.)
expensive	drog (adj. m.)

eye	əčh (n.f.)
eyelid	ṭo:r (n.m.)

F

factory	ka:rkha:nɨ (n.m.)
to faint	beho:š gatshun (v. inf.)
false	apuz (n.m.)
fame	ne:k(h)nə:mi: (n.f.)
family	grəhəst (n.m.)
famous	məhšu:r (adj.)
far	du:r (adv.)
fast	te:z (adj.)
fat	čarɨb (n.m.)
father	mo:l (n.m.)
to feed	a:prun (v. inf.)
to feel	tse:nun (v. inf.)
to fight	laḍun (v. inf.)
to find	labun (v. inf.)

finger breadth	õgul (n.m.)
fire	naːr (n.m.)
first	aval (adj.), goḍn'uk (adj.m.)
flame	reh (n.f.)
flippant	op (n.m.)
floor	pəthɨr (n.m.)
flour	oːṭ, məːdɨ (n.m.)
a fly	məch (n.f.)
to follow	amal karɨn' (v. f.)
food	batɨ (n.m.)
fool	beːvkuːph (n.)
foot	kor (n.m.)
force	zoːr (n.m.)
forest	ǰãgul (n.m.)
forgiveness	kh'amaː (n.f.)
fort	kilɨ (n.m.)
foundation	bun'aːd (n.f.)
fresh	taːzɨ (adj.)

friend	ya:r, do:st (n.m.)
frugality	kipha:yat (n.f.)
to fry	talun (v. inf.)

G

gambling	za:r (n.m.)
garden	ba:g (n.m.)
gardener	ba:gva:n (n.m.)
garland	ma:l (n.f.)
ghee	g'av (n.m.)
girl	kəṭ, ləḍki:, ku:r (n.f.)
girl's headwear	khob (n.m.)
to give birth	prasun (v. inf.)
to give up	tra:vun (v. inf.)
to go	gatshun (v. inf.)
(he) goat	tsha:vul (n.m.)
God	bagva:n (n.m.)
god of death	yam (n.m.)

gold	sɔn (n.m.)
good	ǰa:n (adj.)
good deed	pɔn', sava:b (n.m.)
good sense	bɔd (n.f.)
good wishes	ə:hi: (n.f.)
to go up	khasun (v. inf.)
grand	ə:li:ša:n (adj.)
grandure	ša:n (n.)
grass	ga:sɨ (n.m.)
gravy	ras (n.)
green	sabɨz (adj.)
grey	čhot (adj.)
to grind	pihun (v. inf.)
group	məǰlis (n.f.)
a guest	sa:lur (n.m.)

H

habit	a:dath (n.m.)
hair (of head)	mas (n.m.)

half dead	aḍɨmo:r (adj. m.)
hanging	alɔ̃:nd (adj. m.)
haste	ɟaldi: (n.f.)
hatred	naphrat (n.f.)
head	kalɨ (n.m.)
head (of a household)	kha:nɨda:r (n.m.)
heart	dil (n.m.)
heat	garmi: (n.f.)
heaviness	gɔb'ar (n.m.)
heavy storm	gaṭɨ zol (n.m.)
hell	ɟahnam (n.m.)
help	madath (n.)
Hindu Temple	mandar (n.m.)
to hit	čha:vun (v. inf.)
to hold	thaph karɨn' (v. inf.)
hole	god, zod (n.m.)
hollow	khɔkhur (adj. m.)
hope	ã:ph, a:š (n.f.)

horn	h'ang (n.m.)
horse	gur (n.m.)
horse driven carriage	ṭã:gɨ (n.m.)
hot	tot (adj. m.)
hour	ganṭɨ (n.m.)
house	maka:nɨ, lər (n.f.)
hubble bubble	ǰeǰi:r (n.f.)
hundred	hath, šath (n.m.)
hundredth part of a Rupee	pə̃:sɨ (n.m.)
husband	ru:n (n.m.)
husband's sister	za:m (n.f.)

I

I	bɨ (pro.)
ice	tulɨkatur, yakh (n.m.)
icicle	šišargə̃:ṭh (n.f.)
ideal	a:darš (n.m.)
if	agar, agarzan (conj.)
ignorant	anza:n (adj.)

immediately	pho:ran (adv.)
to imprison	kə:d karun (v. inf.)
incessant cry	rĩ:ṭh (n.f.)
income	a:mdəni: (n.f.)
inexpensive	šrog (adj. m.)
influence	asar (n.m.)
in front of	brõ:ṭhɨ kani (adv.)
injustice	anarth (n.m.)
ink-pot	dava:th (n.f.)
in-laws	ho:(h)vur (n.m.)
inside	andar (adv.)
insistance	zid (n.m.)
interest	garaz (n.m.)
interference	thɔth (n.m.)
intestines	ḍomb (n.m.)
intoxication	naši (n.m.)

J

jealousy	t'ol, hasad (n.m.)

jewelry	gəhnɨ (n.m.)
jolly	mast (adj.)
juggler	bə:z'gar (n.m.)
juice	ši:rɨ (n.m.)
justice	yinsa:ph (n.m.)

K

Kashmir	kəši:r (n.f.)
Kashmiri	kə:šir (n.f.), kə:šur (n.m.)
Kashmiri Pandit	baṭɨ (n.m.)
Kashmiri tea	kəhvɨ (n.m.)
key	kũz (n.f.)
to kill	ma:run (v. inf.)
kind	kɨsɨm (n.)
kindness	mehrbə:ni (n.f.)
king	ba:dšah, mahara:ǰ, ra:zɨ (n.m.)
kiss	mah (n.m.)
kiss (on the forehead)	m'u:ṭh (n.m.)
kite	patangɨ (n.m.)

to knit	vo:nun (v. inf.)
to know	za:nun (v. inf.)

L

laborer	məzu:r (n.m.)
lack of peace	ašʊ̆:ti: (n.f.)
ladle	čõ:čɨ (n.m.)
lame	long (adj. m.)
land	zəmi:n (n.f.)
landlord	ɟə:girda:r, zəmi:nda:r (n.)
last	pət'um (adv.)
last year	parus (adv.)
to laugh	asun (v. inf.)
laziness	susti: (n.f.)
leaf (of a tree)	panɨvəthɨr (n.m.)
leather	da:lɨ, čamḍɨ (n.m.)
left (side)	kho:(h)vur (adj.)
leg	zang (n.f.)
letter	čith' (n.f.)

letter (of an alphabet)	ačhur (n.m.)
lid	ṭha:nɨ (n.m.)
life	zindgi: (n.f.)
light	ga:š (n.f.)
light in weight	lot (adj.)
lightning	vuzɨmal (n.f.)
limit	ɔ̃:th (n.m.)
a line	rɨkh (n.f.)
lip(s)	vuṭh (n.m.)
to listen	bo:zun (v. inf.)
literate	pormut l'u:khmut (adj. m.)
literature	adab (n.m.)
live coal	t'ɜgul (n.m.)
long	z'u:ṭh (adj. m.)
loose	khol, ḍ'ol (adj. m.)
to lose	ra:vun (v. inf.)
loss	ga:ṭɨ (n.m.)
louse	zɔv (n.f.)
lover	a:šak (n.)

lucky	khoš nəsi:b, ba:g'va:n (adj.)
a lump	l'ob (n.m.)

M

machine	miši:n (n.f.)
mad	pa:gal, mot (adj.)
magnificent	ə:li:ša:n(adj.)
male	marɨd, nar (n.m.)
man	zon (n.m.)
mango	amb (n.f.)
manners	adab, ho:slɨ, təmi:z (n.m.)
manure	pah (n.f.)
maple tree (chinar)	bu:n' (n.f.)
market	ba:zar (n.m.)
marriage	khã:dar (n.m.)
married woman's parents' home	ma:l'un (n.m.)
master	mə:likh (n.m.)
maternal uncle	ma:m (n.m.)
to measure	me:nun (v. inf.)

meek	zɔpɨ, na:tva:n (adj.)
members (of a family)	bə:ts (n.m.)
memory	ya:da:št (n.)
milk	dɔd (n.m.)
milkman	gu:r (n.m.)
mire	ḍẽ:b (n.m.)
mischief	badmə:ši (n.)
mist	vunal (n.f.)
money	pə̃:sɨ, danɨ (n.m.)
mongoose	nu:l (n.m.)
mosque	məši:d (n.f.)
mostly	z'a:dɨtar (adv.)
mother	mə:ǰ (n.f.)
mother-in-law	haš (n.f.)
mother's parents' home	ma:ta:ma:l (n.m.)
mother's sister	ma:s (n.f.)
mother's sister's husband	ma:suv (n.m.)
mouse	gagur (n.m.)

mouth	ə:s, čõ:ṭh (n.m.)
to move	ḍalun, haṭun (v. inf.)
much	s'aṭha (adj.)
mud	rab (n.f.)
a Muslim	musalma:n (n.m.)
mutton	neni (n.f.)
myna	hə:r (n.f.)
myrtle	mə̃:z (n.f.)

N

nail (finger or toe)	nam (n.m.)
a nail	me:kh (n.f.), k'ul (n.m.)
naked	n'athɨnon (adj.m.)
nasal mucus	khɨn' (n.f.)
navel	tu:n (n.m.)
nearby	a:spa:s (adv.)
necessary	lə:zim, zəru:ri: (ɛdj.)
necessity	zəru:rath (n.)

necklace	ha:r (n.m.)
needle	sɨtsan (n.f.)
neighborhood	məhlɨ (n.m.)
nest	o:l (n.m.)
net	za:l (n.m.)
new	nov (adj. m.)
night	šab, ra:th (n.m.)
noise	šo:r (n.m.)
non-violence	ah'amsa: (n.f.)
nose	nas (n.f.)
notebook	ka:pi: (n.f.)
notorious	badna:m (adj.)

O

oath	kasam (n.m.)
officer-in-charge (of a police station)	tha:nɨda:r (n.m.)
often	aksar (adv.)
old man	buḍɨ (n.m.)

one and a half	ḍɔḍ (adj.)
one who shirks work	ka:mitsu:r (n.)
opium	ə:phi:m (n.f.)
opportunity	mo:kɨ (n.m.)
orphan	ana:th (adj.)
owl	ra:tɨmɔgul (n.m.)

P

pain	dag (n.f,)
pair	ǰu:r' (n.f.)
paper	kakad (n.m.)
paradise	sɔrɨg (n.m.)
part	hisɨ (n.)
path	vath (n.f.)
patience	sabɨr (n.f.)
peach	tsɨnun (n.m.)
peasant	kisa:n, gru:s (n.m.)
pebble	kaniphol (n.m.)

peon (janitor)	čaprə:s (n.m.)
people	lu:kh (n.m. plu.)
permission	a:g'a: (n.f.), yiǰa:zath (n.m.)
Persian	pha:rsi: (n.m.)
person	yinsa:n (n.m.)
personality	həsti: (n.f.)
a person with a nasal twang	khũ:kh (n.m.)
pickles	a:ča:r (n.m.)
picture	tasvi:r (n.)
piece	ṭukrɨ (n.m.), čhal (n.f.)
a piece (of rag)	tɨr (n.f.)
a piece (of wood)	hər, həṭ (n.f.)
pig	so:r (n.m.)
pigeon	ko:tur (n.m.)
pillar	tham (n.m.)
pillar (of a bridge)	ṭhoṭh (n.m.)
pitcher	noṭ (n.m.)
pity	a:r (n.m.)

place	ǰa:y (n.f.)
plane	ǰaha:zɨ (n.m.)
play (game)	khe:l (n.f.)
to play	khe:lun (v. inf.)
playing cards	ta:s (n.m.)
to plead	phəriya:d karun (v. inf.)
pleasure	a:nə̃d (n.m.)
plum	ə:r (n.m.)
pocket	čandɨ (n.m.)
police station	tha:nɨ (n.m.)
Polish	pa:liš (n.f.)
pomegranate	də:n (n.m.)
pond	ta:la:b, sar (n.m.)
pony	ṭoṭ (n.m.)
poor	gəri:b (adj.)
population	a:bə:di: (n.f.)
potato	o:luv (n.m.)
potter	kra:l (n.m.)

preparation	sakhar (n.f.)
to pretend	la:gun (v. inf.)
prickly heat	thəthɨr (n.f.)
pride	ahanka:r (n.m.)
to print	čhapa:vun (v. inf.)
prison	kə:d kha:nɨ (n.m.)
profit	phə:ydɨ (n.)
promise	va:dɨ (n.m.)
property	J̌a:da:d (n.m.)
a prostitute	gə:n' (n.f.)
to pull	lamun (v. inf.)
pupil (of an eye)	la:l (n.m.)
pure	šru:ts (n.m.)
purgative	J̌ɔla:bɨ (n.m.)
to put down	thavun (v. inf.)

Q

quarrel	har (n.f.)
queen	mahare:ni (n.f.)

R

rag	zəṭ (n.f.)
rain	ru:d (n.m.)
rainy season	barsa:th (n.m.)
ram	kaṭh (n.m.)
rat	gagur (n.m.)
raw	o:m (adj. m.)
to read	parun (v. inf.)
real (genuine)	asli: (adj.)
rebuke	be:zti: (n.f.)
to rebuke	ḍõ:ṭun, be:zti:karɨn' (v. inf.)[4]
to recover	sanda:run (v. inf.)
reduced	šus (adj.)
regard	l'aha:zɨ (n.m.)
religion	mazhab (n.m.)
rent	kira:yɨ (n.f.)
to repair	samba:lun (v. inf.)
to repent	pačhta:vun (v. inf.)

rest	a:ra:m (n.m.)
the rest	bakɨy (adv.)
rich	əmi:r (adj.)
right (e.g., political right)	yakhtiya:r, hakh (n.m.)
right (side)	dəčhun (adj.)
the right one	asli: (adj.)
ring	və:ǰ (n.f.)
ripe	pop (adj. m.)
to rise	khasun (v. inf.)
rivalry	ada:vath (n.f.)
roasted fish	phər (n.f.)
robe	čɔgɨ (n.m.)
rope	raz (n.f.)
round	go:l (adj.)
to rub	mathun (v. inf.)
ruined	vuǰa:ḍɨ (adj.)
rule	kə:ydɨ (n.m.)
to run	ṭɨkun (v. inf.)

a rupee	rɔpay (n.f.)
Russian	ru:si: (n.)

S

saddle	zi:n (n.m.)
salary	tan(ɨ)kha (n.m.)
sand	sekh (n.f.)
satisfaction	santu:š, tasli: (n.m.)
to say	vanun (v. inf.)
scavenger	va:tul (n.m.)
scratch	zɨl (n.m.)
scream	čikh (n.f.)
screw	pe:č (n.m.)
search	tshã:ḍun (v. inf.)
seat	a:san (n.m.)
secret talk	kən'kath (n.f.)
to see	vučhun (v. inf.)
seed	b'o:l (n.m.)

to select	tsa:run (v.inf.)
to sell	kɨnum (v. inf.)
to send	so:zun (v. inf.)
separate	alag (adv.)
servant	no:kar, si:vak (n.m.)
sesame seed	te:l (n.m.)
shade	tsha:y (n.f.)
shape	a:ka:r (n.m.)
sharp	te:z (adj.)
ship	ǰaha:zɨ (n.m.)
shirt	kəmi:z (n.f.)
shop	va:n (n.m.)
short (of correct measure)	čhon (adv. m.)
short (size)	tshoṭ (adj.)
shoulder	ph'ok (n.m.)
to show shallowness	ap'ar karun (v. inf.)
shroud	kaphan (n.m.)
sieve	par'un (n.m.)

to sift	čha:nun (v. inf.)
silk thread	po:ṭ (n.m.)
silver	rɔph (n.m.)
simplicity	s'azar (n.m.)
sin	pa:ph (n.m.)
to sing	g'avun (v. inf.)
sir	mahra: (hon.)
sister	b'eni (n.f.)
sky	nab, asma:n (n.m.)
slavery	gɔlɛ:mi: (n.f.)
sleep	n'əndɨr (n.f.)
slippery	pišul (adj. m.)
smallpox	šutɨl (n.m.)
smoke	dɨh (n.m.)
snow	ši:n (n.m.)
socks	mo:zɨ (n.m.)
soldier	sipah (n.m.)
some	kẽh (adj. m., inf. pro.)

someone	kãh (pro. indef.)
son	nečuv, gobur (n.m.)
song	bə:th (n.m.)
son-in-law	za:mɨtur (n.m.)
sorrow	gam (n.m.)
soul	a:tma: (n.m.)
sour	tsok (adj.)
spark	zitin' (n.f.)
sparrow	kɔ̃:ṭur (n.m.), tsər (n.f.)
a spent thing	zɔ̃gɨr'o:mut (n.m.)
spider	zalur (n.m.)
to spill	čhəkra:vun, čhakun (v. inf.)
to spin	katun (v. inf.)
spoon	čamči (n.m.)
spot	da:g (n.m.)
spring (of water)	na:g (n.m.)
stammering	phaph'ar (n.m.)
star	ta:rukh (n.m.)

to stay	ro:zun (v. inf.)
to steal	ṕharun (v. inf.)
stick	danḍɨ (n.m.)
stink	phakh (n.m.)
stone	kən' (n.f.)
stone (of a fruit)	ə̃:ṭh (n.f.)
to stop	rukun (v. inf.)
storeroom	ku:ṭhɨr (n.f.)
storm	ə̃:d' (n.f.)
story	kath (n.f.)
straightforwardness	s'azar (n.m.)
straw mat	vaguv (n.m.)
strong	pu:ṭh, pa:yda:r, mazbu:t (adj.)
to have a strong desire	havas gətshun (v. inf.)
stubbornness	akaḍ (n.f.)
subordinate	ma:tɨhat (adj.)
to suck	tsɨhun (v. inf.)
sufficient	kə:phi: (adj.)

sugar	mədre:r (n.m.)
sugar cane	nayšakar (n.m.)
sun	siri: (n.m.)
surname	za:th (n.f.)
suspicion	šakh (n.m.)
sustenance	guza:rɨ (n.m.)
sweeper	va:tul (n.m.)
sweet	m'u:ṭh (n.m.)
to swim	tshā̃:ṭh va:yin (v. inf.)
sword	talva:r (n.f.)

T

tail	loṭ (n.m.)
to take	n'un (v. inf.)
talk	kath (n.f.)
talkative	ča:pɨr' (adj.)
tall	thod (adj. m.)
taste	lazath (n.m.)

teacher	gɔr (n.m.)
tears	oš (n.m.)
to tease	sata:vun (v. inf.)
tenderness	naza:kath (n.f.)
there	tat'ath (adv.)
thick	moṭ (adj.)
thigh	ra:n, lang (n.m.)
thin	otsh (adj. m.)
thorn apple	datur (n.m.)
to thrash	thalun (v. inf.)
throat	hoṭ (n.m.)
thumb	n'ɔṭh (n.m.)
tiger	si̠h (n.m.)
to tighten up	ča:run (v. inf.)
time	vakhi̠t, zema:ni̠ (n.m.)
to be tired	thakun (v. inf.)
tobacco	tamo:k (n.m.)
today	az (n.)

tomorrow	pagah
tongue	z'av (n.f.)
tooth	dand (n.m.)
to be torn	tsh'anun (v. inf.)
toy	tama:ši (n.m.)
a train	re:l (n.f.)
transfer	tabdi:li: (n.f.)
treatment	v'avha:r (n.m.)
tree	kul (n.m.)
trouble	dɔkh (n.m.)
trousers	pə:ǰa:mɨ (n.m.)
type	kɨsɨm (n.)

U

udders	than (n.)
unacquainted	anza:n (adj. m.)
undershirt	ãḍarve:r (n.m.)
to understand	samǰun (v. inf.)

unemployed	b'aka:r (adj.)
unfortunate	kambakht, badkɨsmat (adj.)
unmarried	anɨhu:r (adj. m.)
unripe	o:m, n'u:l (adj. m.)
unsociable	manhu:s (adj.)
untouchable	əčhu:t (n.m.)
unworried	be:phikir (adj.)
urine	mɨthɨr, yidra:r (n.m.)
use	phə:ydɨ (n.m.)

V

village	ga:m (n.m.)
a villager	ga:muk (adj. m.), gru:s (n.m.)

W

wagon	gə:ḍ' (n.f.)
waist	kamar (n.m.)
to wash	čhalun (v. inf.)

washerman	dob (n.m.)
watch	gər (n.f.)
to watch	za:gun (v. inf.)
water	po:n' (n.m.)
wedding	khã:dar (n.m.)
weight	ba:r (n.m.)
well	kru:r (n.m.)
well-being	kɔšal (n.m.)
a westerner	ãgre:z (n.)
what	k'ah (adv.)
where	kat'an (adv.)
white	saphe:d (adj.)
whooping cough	zikhir (n.f.)
wife's brother	həhər (n.m.)
willow	vi:r (n.f.)
to win	ze:nun (v. inf.)
the wind	tshaṭh (n.f.), havah (n.m.)
window	dɘ:r (n.f.)

to winnow	tshaṭun (v. inf.)
wire	ta:r (n.f.)
wise	ə:kɨl (adj.), ga:ṭul (adj. m.)
wise person	ga:ṭul (adj. m.)
woman	zən', zena:ṇɨ (n.f.)
wonder	tə:ǰub (n.m.)
work	kə:m (n.f.)
worm	k'om (n.m.)
worry	pare:šə:ni: (n.)
wound	zakhɨm (n.m.)
wrestler	pəhəlva:n (n.)
wrestling	kušti: (n.f.)
wrist	hots (n.m.)
wrong	galath (adj.)

Y

yard	gaz (n.m.)
yellow rice (cooked)	təhər (n.f.)

yesterday	ra:th (n.)
yogurt	za:mut dɔd (n.m.)
youth	ǰavɵ:ni (n.f.)

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ABBREVIATIONS

AcOr	*Acta Orientalia*, ediderunt Societates Orientales Danica Norvegica Svecica (Le Monde Oriental), Copenhague.
AO	*Archiv Orientální*, Praha.
AnL	*Anthropological Linguistics*, Bloomington, Indiana.
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, London.
IL	*Indian Linguistics*, Journal of the Linguistic Society of India, Poona-6.
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
MPhon	*Le Maître Phonétique*, Organe de l'Association Phonétique Internationale, London.
NTS	*Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, Oslo.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesell Schaft*, Wiesbaden.

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2. Index of Selected Kashmiri Items
3. Index of Languages
4. Index of Subjects

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The Index of Kashmiri Items lists some important Kashmiri items which a student and/or teacher might find useful.

The Index of Languages lists the Dardic or other languages to which reference has been made in the text.

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